



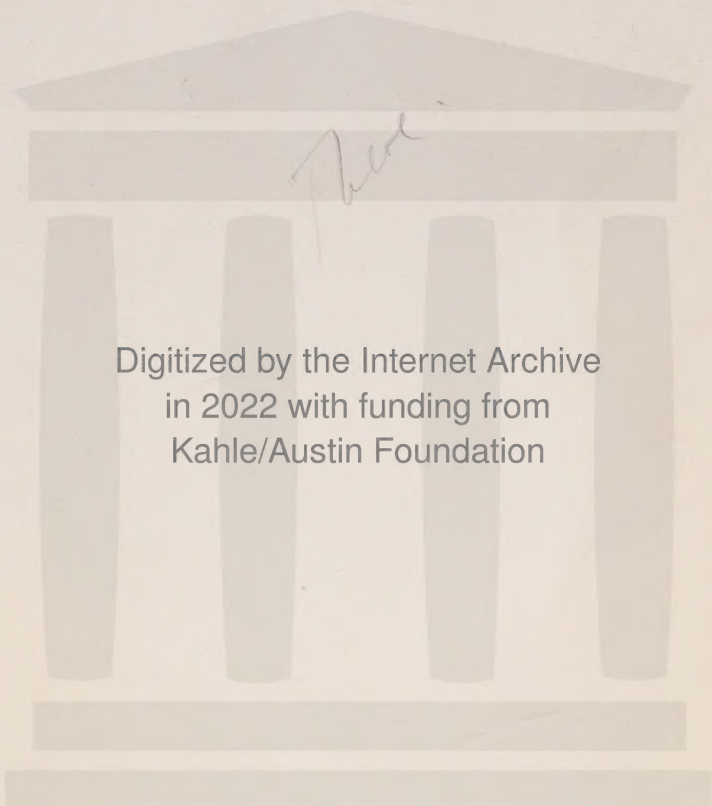
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*Report of the
Anglo-Catholic
Congress : London*

1927

Report of the
**ANGLO-CATHOLIC
CONGRESS**

SUBJECT: THE HOLY EUCHARIST

London, July, 1927

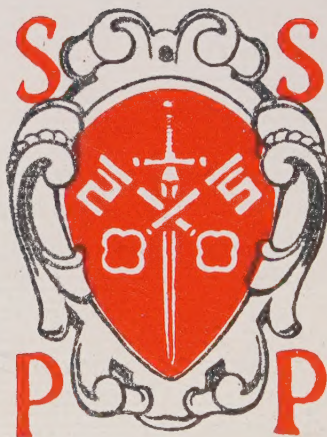


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❧ Foreword ❧



HE commencement of the Third Anglo-Catholic Congress may be reckoned from Sunday, July 3, when Masses were offered at over ninety churches in the London district alone, and special sermons were preached, both at Mass and at the evening services.

The first session of the Congress was held in the Albert Hall, on the following afternoon, Monday, July 4. The Rt. Revd. Bishop Chandler, as President of the Congress Committee, formally "installed" the Bishop of Nassau as Chairman of the Congress, and the first papers on the Holy Eucharist were read according to programme. The Revd. Fr. Bull, S.S.J.E., made the appeal for contributions to the Congress funds. In the evening the Revd. Geoffrey Heald was the additional speaker.

On the second day the sessions were three in number. In addition to the readers of papers, the Revd. C. E. Russell, the Revd. Fr. Tooth, the Revd. C. R. Deakin, Lord Halifax, and the Revd. G. D. Rosenthal spoke, the Bishop of Nassau presiding at each of the three sessions.

Wednesday, July 6, marked an interval in the regular Congress programme, and in many respects was an experiment in organization. From all parts of England and Wales special trains brought in parties of one-day pilgrims, who were met at their respective London termini and taken in charabancs to the particular church which had been allotted to them. At various convenient hours High Mass was sung and Holy Communion given. At 11.30 a.m., in the Albert Hall, a special Congress meeting was held for these one-day visitors. The Bishop of Nassau presided, and the Revd. G. Heald, the Revd. Fr. Hughson, O.H.C. (whose speech is given in the

Foreword

Appendix), and the Revd. L. A. Matthew were the speakers. At noon that same day a City meeting was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, with Sir Henry Slessor in the chair. The Revd. A. E. Monahan, Mr. Glass, and the Revd. G. D. Rosenthal addressed the meeting.

Meanwhile, in the Albert Hall, a meeting of the Foreign Missionary Association of the Congress was held in the early afternoon. Bishop Chandler presided, and was followed by the Bishop of London, who had come, at considerable inconvenience, from the Church Assembly, which, at that very moment, was in the midst of the crucial Prayer-Book revision debate. The Bishop's determination so to visit the Congress was warmly appreciated. Sir Claude Severne, the Revd. V. F. Hambling, the Bishop of Damaraland, and the Revd. Canon Broomfield also spoke.

At 5 p.m., immediately following the missionary meeting, a devotional meeting was conducted by the Revd. Fr. Vernon, S.D.C. Probably at no other time was there a larger attendance, the hall being densely crowded from gallery to arena.

Finally, in the evening, the arena having been cleared, a "Social," with music, both orchestral and vocal, was held from 8 p.m. onwards. A short meeting served as an introduction to the more informal proceedings, General Carleton-Jones, Secretary of the Organization Committee, taking the chair. The Revd. G. D. Rosenthal and Sir Henry Slessor (whose speeches appear in the Appendix), and the Revd. H. A. Wilson were the speakers.

On Thursday, July 7, the regular sessions were resumed, three being held on both this and the following day. Mr. Humphrey Beevor, Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith, the Revd. Arnold Pinchard, and the Revd. G. C. Ommamney were the additional speakers. On this evening the first of the two Queen's Hall sessions was held, Bishop Chandler presiding, and the Revd. K. E. Kirk, the Revd. C. R. Deakin, and the Revd. E. G. Selwyn addressed the meeting.

On the concluding day the sessions were even more crowded than on the previous occasions, the Revd. F. L. Underhill making the appeal at the morning session. In the afternoon, Mgr. Germanos, the Metropolitan of Thyatira, the

Foreword

Archimandrite Constantinides, and the Revd. Chaplain to the ex-King of Greece were formally welcomed to the platform by the Bishop of Nassau. The Metropolitan of Thyatira and the Revd. Fr. Tribe, S.S.M., addressed the meeting in addition to the regular speakers. Friday evening marked the conclusion of the Congress sessions. The Revd. G. Heald and Mr. Sidney Dark addressed the meeting, and during the course of the evening a telegram was sent, by unanimous approval, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, conveying the respectful and affectionate greetings of the ten thousand Anglo-Catholics assembled in the Albert Hall, to his Grace, with an assurance of their love, honour, and prayers.

During the Chairman's final speech, which appears in the body of the Report, the following reply was received from Lambeth, and was read out by the Chairman and received with enthusiastic applause, the vast audience rising spontaneously to its feet:

"I thank you for your loyal message. I appreciate the high tone which seems to have marked your discussions and their welcome freedom from controversial reference to the problem which has been before the Church Assembly. I earnestly pray that we may all be enabled to work together to the glory of God and to the deepening and strengthening of the faith we love.—RANDALL CANTUAR."

At the Queen's Hall meeting that evening the chair was taken by the Revd. Dr. P. N. Waggett, S.S.J.E., the Revd. F. L. Underhill, the Revd. E. D. Merritt, the Revd. Dudley Symon, and the Revd. C. P. Hankey also addressing the meeting. A telegram was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury similar to that despatched from the Albert Hall.

On Saturday, July 9, several Masses for children were held in Congress churches, and a Congress Pilgrimage proceeded to Canterbury, under the presidency of the Bishop of Nassau. On Sunday, July 10, Masses of thanksgiving were offered in all the Congress churches, *Te Deums* were sung at the evening services, and special sermons were preached, both in the morning and evening.

In addition to the Albert Hall and Queen's Hall sessions, simultaneous Congresses, at which selected Congress papers

Foreword

were read, were held in forty-nine centres, including such far distant places as Falmouth, Truro, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Tokyo, Ottawa, Colombo, etc. The sum of over £23,000 was raised by the Congress for the various objects which have been described at length in other publications elsewhere. Over 21,000 Anglo-Catholics enrolled themselves as Congress members.

* * * * *

The foregoing is but a formal record of the Eucharistic Congress of 1927, and, as such, it can convey no idea of the enthusiasm and devotion which it manifested. To attempt such a description is no part of the editors' task. But, before concluding this Foreword, they feel bound to offer certain explanations, by way of apologia.

In the first place, the Congress of 1927 presents difficulties, from an editorial standpoint, which were not present in the former Congresses. A number of meetings, for example, were held outside the normal Congress sessions, meetings such as that of the Foreign Missionary Association, the "Social," the City meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel, and the two Queen's Hall meetings. Only in a few cases has it been possible to include any report of the speeches and papers given at these functions.

Whereas the 1923 Congress lasted only for three days, this Congress consisted of eleven Albert Hall sessions. As it was essential that the Report should be issued at a reasonably low price, the editors have been compelled to exercise their editorial discretion, since the inclusion of every paper and every speech would have involved a far more unwieldy volume than the expense would warrant.

Again, in 1923, there were a few special services at which sermons were preached, and which could be included precisely because they were few in number. In 1927 there were over 330 services at Congress churches, at all of which sermons were preached. Obviously these could not be contained in the Report.

The editors, as they have read through the proofs, have been more than ever conscious of the dignity and importance

Foreword

of this Congress, and of the comparative responsibility, therefore, which they themselves have incurred. They are confident that no one who reads this book will fail to realize how reverent and high a standard was set. Indeed, the Congress marks clearly a new period upon which the Anglo-Catholic Movement has entered, and a period full of promise and opportunity. Whatever problems the future contains, it is certain that the Movement possesses a spiritual virility and devotion which justifies a sense of thankfulness. Finally, the editors feel no hesitation in suggesting that the careful study of the papers which this Report contains is no small part of the immediate duty of Congress members, and of all, indeed, who profess their allegiance to the Anglo-Catholic Movement.

CHARLES SCOTT GILLET

KENNETH INGRAM

Editors

10

11

❁ Contents of this Report ❁

General Subject

THE HOLY EUCHARIST

FOREWORD page v

PAPERS READ AT THE CONGRESS :

THE BACKGROUND OF SACRAMENTAL BELIEF

- I. The Christian View of the World . . . page 1
*The Revd. Father P. N. Waggett, D.D., of the
Society of St. John the Evangelist.*
- II. The Christian Doctrine of Man . . . page 8
*The Revd. N. P. Williams, D.D., Lady Margaret
Professor of Divinity in the University of
Oxford.*

THE CONTEXT OF THE EUCHARIST

- I. Sacraments in other Religions . . . page 21
*The Revd. Basil E. Butler, M.A., Tutor of Keble
College, Oxford.*
- II. Sacraments and the Presence of God in Nature page 32
*N. K. H. A. Coghill, Esq., Fellow of Exeter
College, Oxford.*
- III. Sacraments and Mysticism . . . page 43
Miss Evelyn Underhill.

Contents of this Report

THE EUCHARIST AND REVELATION

- The Eucharist in the New Testament . . . page 51
*The Revd. Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, Bart., Fellow of
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*

THE IDEA OF SACRIFICE OUTSIDE CHRISTIANITY

- I. Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile) . . . page 57
*The Revd. E. O. James, D.Litt., F.S.A., Vicar of
St. Thomas' Church, Oxford.*
- II. Sacrifice in the Old Testament . . . page 68
*The Revd. Canon H. L. Goudge, D.D., Regius
Professor of Divinity in the University of
Oxford.*

THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE

- I. On Calvary . . . page 80
*The Revd. K. E. Kirk, D.D., Fellow of Trinity
College, Oxford.*
- II. In the Eucharist . . . page 90
*The Revd. E. G. Selwyn, D.D., Rector of Red
Hill, Havant, and Editor of "Theology."*

THE REAL PRESENCE

- I. Historically Considered . . . page 101
*The Revd. Canon Darwell Stone, D.D., Principal
of Pusey House, Oxford.*

Contents of this Report

- II. Theologically and Philosophically Considered page 109
Dr. A. E. Taylor, F.B.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; and Will Spens, Esq., C.B.E., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

THE APPROACH TO THE PRESENCE

- I. The Holy Spirit and the Eucharist . . . page 120
The Revd. A. E. J. Rawlinson, D.D., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
- II. Christian Priesthood . . . page 129
The Revd. C. S. Gillett, M.A. (Oxon and Cantab); Fellow and Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Southwell.

THE MEANING OF THE PRESENCE

- I. Preparation for Communion . . . page 140
The Revd. Francis Underhill, M.A., Warden of Liddon House.
- II. Communion with Man . . . page 146
The Revd. Dudley Symon, Headmaster of Woodbridge School.
- III. Communion with God . . . page 156
The Revd. C. P. Hankey, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary-the-Less Church, Cambridge.

THE RESERVED SACRAMENT

- I. Its Use for Communion . . . page 162
The Revd. Prebendary H. F. B. Mackay, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street.

Contents of this Report

- II. Its Devotional Aspect page 172
The Revd. Father Lionel Thornton, of the Community of the Resurrection.

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

- I. Eucharistic Rites page 183
The Revd. K. D. Mackenzie, M.A., late Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.
- II. Eucharistic Ceremonies page 195
Stephen Gaselee, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A., and the Revd. Maurice Child, M.A., General Secretary of the Anglo-Catholic Congress.

EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

- I. The Principles of Christian Worship page 204
The Revd. C. W. Hutchinson, A.K.C., Vicar of St. John's Church, Waterloo Road, Lambeth.
- II. The Sunday Eucharist page 210
The Revd. G. H. Clayton, M.A., Vicar of Chesterfield.
- CONCLUDING SPEECH page 218
The Bishop of Nassau (Chairman).

APPENDIX

- I. Address by *the Revd. Father Hughson, of the Order of the Holy Cross* page 221
- II. Address by *the Revd. G. D. Rosenthal, M.A., Vicar of St. Agatha's Church, Sparkbrook* page 227
- III. Address by *Sir Henry Slessor, K.C., M.P.* page 230

The Background of Sacramental Belief



The Christian View of the World

By P. N. WAGGETT, S.S.J.E.



IF I quite understand what is expected of me, we are now, in preparation for devout reflection upon the Eucharist, to mark some of the characteristics of Christian thought about the world, that is to say, the scene of our mortal life. Such a study of Christian thought might lead us a long way, in respect both of the range of facts thought about, and the modes of thought about the facts. Indeed, I suppose that in one sense there are as many Christian views of the world as there are Christians. At present the Christian view would for many be the Evolutionary View. To others a Christian view would have regard to the *relative* character of sense perceptions. But there are, perhaps, some features of thought which are, in a special degree, characteristic of all Christian thought.

There is one, indeed, that is universal and regulative. There is no Christian thought about anything that has not for its entirely constant and perpetually fruitful centre an absorbing belief in God. The fear of God, the knowledge and love of God is the foundation of all the Christian's science and of all his wisdom. It is because this fact is thoroughly familiar to everyone here, and made the law of life and thought, that

Sacramental Belief

we have been given no paper about the adoring search for the knowledge of God, without which all attempt to contemplate the particular revelation given us in the Eucharist must be entirely vain, and even dangerous.

The Holy Eucharist is entirely the Gift of God; and it is what it is and nothing less. It is not measured by our appreciation of it. The gift comes to us in the manner in which it comes and there is no variableness or shadow of turning in this manner, though our notions of it change; for it is the manner of the mercy of God. It is what it is; it comes as it comes and not otherwise; and the purpose of its bestowal upon us is the purpose God has appointed for it.

Its visible and tangible elements belong to the range of Nature. The invisible treasure of the Eucharistic Gift—the Body and Blood of Christ—is not part of the order of Nature, like a sunrise or an eclipse, nor an “interruption” of that order like a miracle—though a miracle is itself part of a higher order. This gift is an event and a reality in Christ’s new creation, the Church, a mystery of health in the Body of Christ.

It is wholly in every moment the gift of the Father; wholly an operation of the Eternal Word; wholly a movement of the sovereign and life-giving Spirit. On our part it is wholly, from first to last, a matter of prayer, a prayer that is itself a gift and operation of the same Divine Spirit. And both our supplication and our undemanding adoration reach their highest expression when, to God and by the Power of the Holy Ghost, we tell the very actions and words of the Incarnate Son in the same night that he was betrayed. Here, as Canon Brightman says, we lay the situation before God in the highest form of Prayer and accept the consequence approved by his love.

From God then, in his Church, and welcomed by the faith and prayer God gives us, comes the heavenly Gift. It is the Church’s sacrifice and Christ’s, it is the presence of the Lord Jesus, the centre of our worship, the guiding lamp of the children, the great daily means of Grace, the food of the innocent and the holy, the full restoration of the penitent, the consolation of the trembling and the sad, the bread of the strong, the support in the darkness of the spirits that depart

The Christian View of the World

hence in the Lord; for Christ is in this Gift the life of all that believe and the resurrection of the dead, the only hope of the last day. "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." Of all this others will speak.

I have only to speak, in the most general terms I can find, of some features that are frequent in the Christian thought of the world, that thought which is the nidus or the soil of the seed of divine faith. I say only *frequent*, for few are universal. Of the differences between Christian thinkers some are not theological, or even philosophical, but temperamental. And again, there are differences of mental stature and rank. In some, the wings of the mind are strong for the most extended flights; in some, barely able to leave the ground. The faith has room for the choicest spirits, not usually among its commanding officers and teachers, though we must remember the exalted prophecy of apostles, and the appearance here and there in the ages of exalted and illuminated souls among the inheritors of apostolic authority. We have room for these, and every now and then for a metaphysician—an idealist. Clement and Fénelon and Anselm were all bishops.

But the weight of the Christian fortunes is in the ordinary folk, the rank and file of kings and prelates, captains and merchants, learned folk and simple, labourers, soldiers, kind pastors, faithful communicants. The philosophy of the Church must have a witness in these, and not only in the recluse who has escaped the trammels of sense, or in the blessed souls bathed in the sunshine and driven by the storms of supernatural prayer.

Now this ordinary Christian philosophy is what the philosophers would call a common-sense mode of thought. It is not in any technical sense materialistic; but it pays much regard to the concrete, the manifold, the phenomenal, the particular. Secondly, it is not strictly speaking Necessitarian or Determinist; but it recognizes and relies on a sequence in events. It instinctively believes that great effects point to great causes, and, knowing that nothing great or small happens without God's will, it knows that the particular thing that happens is according to a particular purpose of God, and has,

Sacramental Belief

in what we read as history, a train of regular and adequate antecedents.

Thirdly, this characteristic and ordinary Christian thought is not worldly; but it regards very steadily the dignity, reality, importance of common human life, individual and domestic, its knowledge and activities and policy and justice and hopes. It is not *characteristic* of the Christian to live detached from all this and to find satisfaction in a worship free from all implication with human interests and needs. Christian thought regards the actual, believes in the regular and the accountable, and reverences the human.

The Church accused of contempt for mankind proclaims the legitimate authority of natural society.

The Church suspected of a dread of science and a passion for miracles is the prophet of the reign of law.

The Church credited—and it is made a matter of credit—with an unlimited transcendentalism is the champion of reverence for the phenomenal world; and in every repetition of the Creed cries with exultant confidence that God is the maker not of heaven only but of earth as well, that the Father created, and holds in existence by the Word and the Holy Spirit, all things not only invisible but visible. The Church has always by a divine instinct condemned the supposed spirituality that found a moral exaltation in the inward and the psychical. Like a wise mother she knows that if bodies consecrated to be temples of the Holy Spirit can be corrupted and ruined by sin, certainly tempers and wishes and spirits—creations invisible, but possibly not unphysical—are at least as much open to perversion, to misuse, and to destruction.

Give me leave to add a few words on each of these heads, and then point to their connection with Eucharistic worship and belief.

1. The Christian regard for the actual, the particular, the material. There is nothing securely divine in the contempt of earthly experience; there is no valid contrast between the actual and the spiritual.

The non-material is at least as actual as the most enduring or the most rapidly perishing of the things of sense. And the actual, however material, however brief its tenure of the

The Christian View of the World

stage of existence, however narrow its range or short its orbit of reality, is capable of being, by the power of the Creator Spirit and by the ministry of the spirit of man, as truly, though not as grandly, spiritual as the unimagined powers and splendours of the Divine Presence. The clouds also, though they change and vanish while we admire them, are his messengers, and he maketh ministers of the instantaneous rise and fall of the fire.

The neglect or contempt of the material, and of the regular successions of our "outward" life, whether personal or social, takes on the air of a specially spiritual mood. But it leads to practical atheism in the conduct of life. In the mid-current of the immense wealth, power, and grand organization of life in America, there is evident a strong and humble spirit of detachment. Many of the heroic Christians in that wonderful land incline to regard exclusively what are called the things of the soul. In this way they do a real Christian service. But if such an effort of detachment remained without counterpoise, it would lead in less enlightened spirits to the conclusion that what happens to the man's *mind* is of consequence, while what happens to the man's money is not of consequence, or has less consequence, in the high measures of morality and faith. It would lead to the abandonment of the material resources to a godless management, unrelated in purpose to the salvation of man and the kingdom and glory of God.

Do not mistake me. The transcendental thought, the way to truth by *escape* from the visible and the changing, is a real mode of human thought too; and it does not exist for nothing. In it, indeed, and by it, we find the convincing witness of the eternal; it is in contrast with the unchangeable thus, perhaps unconsciously, discovered that we are aware of time and process. But when it is thorough-paced and persevering this metaphysical perception becomes much more than tolerant of the particular. It finds the infinite *in* the contingent. For, indeed, it is not the particular, it is the abstract and the abstraction that confines the spirit and the mind of man. As in virtue, he that would do good must do it in particular actions, so in thought, he that would find truth must find it if not in

Sacramental Belief

particular objects yet through particular efforts of subjection to the eternal truth.

The infinite significance of the Particular shines once for all in our Lord; he is the principle of all health; but he is not content to abide in his world as the unshaken promise of restoration. In the fulness of time he also appears in it by Incarnation, bears our burden and our sickness, and that not for mankind only, but for men and women and children.

He heals this wife's mother and that man's son; he enlightens the ignorance of actual persons and bids them regard actual events. Be sure that of us also he demands the cure of this disgrace and that; of the lack of proper dwellings for the multitude, the murder or the unredeemed captivity of persecuted races, the ignorance of actual unbelievers, who fail to believe because we do not personally shine with the evidence of God.

No, it is not the particular that confines. It is the abstract and the abstraction that shut us out from the unchanging and the real. Characteristic Christian thought regards the actual; it has (but this by the way) some suspicion of the doctrine and the judgment called the judgment of values; it banks on the facts. If Christ be not risen, is the cry of a typical Christian, your faith is vain.

2. What I have written of the Christian regard for the Reign of Law must be taken as read. Only we must say that when we believe in the genuine reversal of our sins, it is because we believe in a real cause of such cure and reversal, the sacrificing Love of Christ, and not in a fairy tale of man's magical abolition of his own past.

3. There is hardly need of words to remind you of the Christian reverence for human life; but sometimes even here error has crept in. Distrust the spirituality that flings about the word "man-made" as an unanswerable accusation. There is, indeed, a "man-made" that is not divine, that is "human-all-too-human" in its pride and ignorance and moral weakness. But those who adore the Incarnate Word dare not say that what enlists the faculties of man and uses the pathetic endeavours and affections of man is therefore, and to that extent, not of God.

The Christian View of the World

Finally, we may, very simply, point to the Eucharistic bearing of these common characters of Christian thought, this actualism, this scientific temper, this humanism.

1. "We are not ashamed of the Gospel" of Christ's power in the Eucharist, because the gift has a material side. We do not believe that our Communion by the Spirit in this world with the Exalted Saviour, our King in heaven, whose coming from heaven we look for, would be purer or more secure if that Communion were always free from all implications of occasion and place, of "earthly" counterpart and visible instrument.

But we pray that in all our Sacramental Worship and our Sacramental Communion, the whole reality of our being may rise to him upon his throne in the Light no man may approach without him, beyond all the definitions of our thought, and all the limitations of time and space.

2. We are not ashamed of our faith because the mystery has laws and regular sequence, and is not left to so-called chance or to the uncertain moods of our own temper. We are not dismayed because we have, through his apostles, received from the Lord himself what we ought to do, the few and simple essentials of the Consecration of this gift, the main lines, to which we are bound, but God is not bound, of the Covenant bestowed upon us.

3. And, I add, do not be afraid of the doctrine because the Eucharist has a human side, a share even for our striving, the grievously backward and variable effort of our humanity.

We shall not think to exalt the mystery by supposing it lifted above the level of human fortunes, out of the tangle of human infirmities, human generosity, human abasements of penitence, human exaltations of desire.

It is precisely in the recognition of the real and dynamic value, in the Church, of human life that we escape the emptiness of subjectivism and virtualism. Human agency also is real, objective; human spirit is among the weapons of God's real victory.

We know we cannot measure the heavenly powers and actions contained in this gift from the Crucified and risen Saviour. Do not be sure that we know the limitations of our

Sacramental Belief

mortal share in it and that not only in response. For we know not the measure in which the Almighty uses the human spirit and human spirits to compose the instrument of his mercy and build the road of his august approach.

❧ II ❧

The Christian Doctrine of Man

By N. P. WILLIAMS

I



“HAT a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world; the paragon of animals.”

These words are placed by Shakespeare in the mouth of the half-distraught Hamlet. Yet there can be little doubt that they represent his own healthy-minded, not to say, secular-minded, genius so typical of the spacious days of the Elizabethan era, when, under the mighty impulsion of the Renaissance, with its new learning and its world-shaking discoveries, man seemed to have shaken off the terrors of the supernatural, and to have entered into his earthly kingdom at last. This tendency on the part of man to glorify and worship himself is suggested by the name of Humanism, which is applied to the Renaissance movement in its more intellectual and scholarly aspects, and it expresses itself vividly in the painting and sculpture of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, in which the hieratic and mystic feeling which had informed mediæval art is totally absent, in which the frank glorification of the human body is the main *motif*,

The Christian Doctrine of Man

saints and angels being treated merely as heroes and nymphs, excuses for the celebration through æsthetic forms of the transitory glory of these frail houses of clay. The Renaissance, as its name implies, was a rebirth of the old Greek point of view which was based upon the assumption that "Man is the measure of all things"; that health and physical beauty, prudence, mental balance, and a sense of proportion are the supreme virtues; that if there be any gods they are too far away from us to have much direct influence on our lives; and that the most perfectly developed human beings represent the highest standard of mental and moral excellence that exists in the universe. Hence, Pope could write, "The proper study of mankind is man." This proneness of man to admire and adore himself, with Narcissus-like self-complacency, has grown with his growth in scientific knowledge and in mastery over the forces of Nature, until it has culminated in the attitude of mind symbolized by Swinburne's audacious blasphemy: "Glory to man in the highest, for man is the master of things."

Yet side by side with this increasing pride in himself and his own achievements we can trace a current of self-depreciatory feeling, of dissatisfaction, of the consciousness of moral imperfection and interior discord, which comes to light in other sayings of secular poets and sages covering much the same period of time. We may think of the cynical philosophy of La Rochefoucauld which finds the taint of selfishness running through all man's noblest actions, and reduces all his virtues to highly sublimated and subtly disguised forms of self-love. Few writers have given a more vivid expression to the sense of an inherent frailty and unhappiness attaching to our nature than Byron, whose own profligate life was well summed up in the line which describes the youth of Childe Harold, "For he through sin's long labyrinth had run," but who, nevertheless, ascribed his depravity to

"This hard decree,
This uneradicable taint of sin";

and few human utterances have better expressed the contrast between the beauty, order, and regularity of the external

Sacramental Belief

universe and the chaos which reigns in the lesser world of man's soul, than the lines from "Manfred":

"How beautiful is all this visible world!
How glorious in its action and itself!
But we, who name ourselves its sovereigns, we,
Half dust, half deity, alike unfit
To sink or soar, with our mix'd essence, make
A conflict of its elements and breathe
The breath of degradation and of pride,
Contending with low wants and lofty will,
Till our mortality predominates,
And men are—what they name not to themselves,
And trust not to each other."

Even Shelley, in whom the revolt of man against tradition, whether religious or political, finds its most furious expression, is constrained to sing—

"the Universe
In Nature's silent eloquence declares
That all fulfil the works of love and joy,
All but the outcast man."

The catastrophe of the Great War, in which the triumphs of man's intellectual and scientific progress were perverted by his selfish rage to be the means of his own destruction, has for the time being, at any rate, shattered the complacency with which he had been accustomed to contemplate his own nature and achievements; and the immense growth of that subtle science of the mind, analytic psychology, which has sprung from the study of the mental and nervous ruin wrought by the War in so many of its victims, has at least refuted Pelagianism, and shown man that the self, so far from being a proud autonomous sovereign, is rather a theatre in which elemental and imperfectly co-ordinated impulses strive for the mastery, a unity of appearance rather than of reality, needing help from without to save it from itself. Though it will not admit the fact, the thinking portion of the world has once more come to a position substantially identical with

The Christian Doctrine of Man

that underlying the Psalmist's poignant utterance: "Behold I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me." Although it knows it not, it is prepared to affirm, with St. Paul, that "The evil that I would not, that I do," and to utter the despairing cry "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

II

It is on this consciousness of an inherent flaw in human nature, a flaw to which St. Augustine gave the name of "original sin," that the whole scheme of traditional Christian doctrine, considered as an ordered logical fabric, is built. From this fundamental psychological fact certain elements in the Jewish Church (followed by the Christian Church as a whole) argued backwards to the idea of a great primeval revolt against God, pictorially bodied forth by the apocalyptic story of the Fall of the Angels and the Biblical narrative of the Fall of Man; and Christianity argues forward to the necessity of an Incarnation and of redeeming grace, so as to insure that the beneficent purpose of the Creator should not be permanently defeated. That such grace should be imparted through Sacraments or sensible symbols is not, indeed, logically inevitable, because various other ways of imparting grace might be thought of; and, indeed, the noblest Catholic theologians have always maintained that God is not bound to his own means. But the sacramental method of bestowing grace is evidently congruous with man's double constitution, half spirit, half animal; and that grace is, in fact, so bestowed is guaranteed by Christ's own words and appointment. To the questions, then, which are necessarily raised by reflection on the fact of man's inherent weakness—namely (1) "How did this weakness originate if God made all things very good?" and (2) "What is the remedy whereby this weakness may be healed?" Catholic Christianity returns two fairly clear-cut answers, which constitute the doctrines—firstly, of the Fall; and, secondly, of grace imparted mainly, though not exclusively, through Sacraments.

Sacramental Belief

III

Now the logical scheme in which these doctrines inhere can best be understood if it is contrasted with its rival, the theory of human nature and of the mode of its redemption from sin, which represents the infiltration into Christianity of that joyous, optimistic, self-complacent estimate of man and his achievements, which was briefly sketched at the beginning of this paper. According to this rival view, the normal man as he exists to-day conforms, so far as his nature is concerned, with complete exactness to the idea of man as eternally conceived in the mind of God. There can, therefore, be no question of a "Fall" of any kind, not even of an ideal or transcendental kind. Man's nature is perfect, even though his actions may not be, because he possesses an exquisitely balanced and unhampered freedom of the will, so that his sins are to be accounted for by the simple statement that he has chosen to sin, and no inherent flaw or infirmity need be postulated. Hence, it is always within his power to redeem himself by merely choosing to do right, and all the external assistance that he needs to enable him to do right consists in instruction and information as to what actually *is* right. The Redeemer, therefore, need be no more than a merely human sage who has given such instruction to the world, partly in the form of express precepts, and partly as embodied in the example of his own life and martyrdom. A great man, who combines the qualities of Rabbi and Prophet in their highest forms, is amply sufficient for this rôle. Hence, even if it could be proved that such a sage bequeathed to his followers rites symbolizing purification from sin and the acquisition of moral strength through self-sacrifice, such rites would occupy a very subordinate place in the Christian system; they would be means which the individual might either use or discard as he found that he was either helped or not helped by them. They would be very far from being means of grace in an exclusive or even in a primary sense; and, indeed, the conception of "grace" itself would mean little more than the emotional suggestiveness which may attach to inspiring

The Christian Doctrine of Man

hymns, eloquent sermons, noble literature and architecture, and the various agencies which man has himself designed for stimulating his own higher life. I do not assert that this rival scheme is actually held, in the stark uncompromising outlines which I have sketched, by any one individual of those who claim the name of Christian but repudiate the characteristic conceptions of Catholicism. Nevertheless, it is not unfair to take it as representing the highest common factor of the positions underlying the thought of those who denounce sacraments as "magical" and "mechanical"; and the consideration of it will make the opposing points of the Catholic scheme stand out with greater vividness. For the conception of a perfectly autonomous man, king of himself and of this planet, Catholicism substitutes the idea of a man who is a king indeed, but, in Dr. Gore's phrase, "a discrowned king"; who represents a grave declension from the beauty and glory which belong to human nature as conceived in the Creator's mind; whose free will, though real, is handicapped and circumscribed by the influences of a mysterious con-natural disease or infirmity. Given this conception of man, it follows that mere instruction is not much more useful to him than the reading over of a prescription would be to a man who was suffering from a deadly disease. He knows well enough what is right through the dictates of conscience; like St. Paul, "he delights in the law of God according to the inward man," but he sees "a different law in his members warring against the law of his mind." What he needs is, not so much instruction but power; and *ex hypothesi* he cannot generate this power himself. It must, therefore, be infused into him from without; it must be divine, objective, supernatural, and this power is what we mean by "grace" in the language of technical theology. Hence, the Redeemer, if he is to merit that name, must be not merely a source of instruction, but a fountain of *power*; and as this power must be divine in its essence, the Redeemer must be personally God, manifest under the conditions of human flesh. And if the Word really was made flesh and tabernacled amongst us, then we can be sure that none of his actions, and least of all the solemn deeds that he did at the Last Supper, were trivial, otiose, or

Sacramental Belief

irrelevant to man's highest interests. If, therefore, he did declare that consecrated Bread and Wine were to be identified with his Body and his Blood, and that the solemn actions of blessing, breaking, and distributing them were to be repeated until the end of time, his intention cannot be otherwise interpreted than as a purpose to unite human souls to himself in the most intimate, subtle, and penetrating manner conceivable, so as to become one bone, one flesh, and one spirit with him, and his divine life must be regarded as the power which heals the inherited infirmity of their souls. Most of the points in this scheme will form the subject of discussions by subsequent speakers. What I have to say this afternoon is simply concerned with the two points which form the presuppositions of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and together constitute the traditional doctrine of man or human nature—namely, the character of the inherited disease, and the character of that remedy which is technically described as “grace.”

IV

Much light can be thrown upon the character of the disease by the consideration of the facts revealed with regard to the structure of human personality by modern psychological analysis. Many persons suffer from obsessions or neuroses, of which they fully recognize the irrationality, but from which none the less they are unable to free themselves. Such minor mental ailments, in regard to which the older science was powerless, have now been traced back to the repression of one or other of the fundamental instincts of human nature. Such repression is due to the dictates of society which, for example, may oppose an immovable barrier to the individual's love of power or desire for self-expression and self-display by consistently refusing him a position in which the self-regarding instinct could be indulged. But when thwarted ambition gives rise to some pathological symptom, it is because the decree of society has only been accepted by the individual in an external sense: it has not been inwardly adopted and made his own. In Bradley's phrase, he has not learned to “will his station and its duties,” but is in a condition of mental

The Christian Doctrine of Man

revolt against the authority which keeps him in a lower place than that to which he thinks he is entitled. If the individual in question had possessed a social sense so highly developed that his desire to serve the community and to acquiesce in its will was equal to or greater than his desire to assert himself, the conflict would be non-existent, and the symptom would cease to exist. Hence, at the bottom of all such emotional disorders there lies a deficiency in the social sense, which is love in its widest form. The same principle seems to hold good in the wider field of moral evil as a whole. The sinner is unable to control the two powerful instincts which tend to issue in pride and sensuality, because he is deficient in the instinct to keep in harmony with the wider community of moral agents, human and superhuman, which is included and summed up in God. In the last resort, the hereditary infirmity consists in a congenital defect or absence of the love of God, and of the selfless love of one's neighbour which naturally follows from it.

V

This method of conceiving the nature of the inherited wound of man's essence will provide us with analogies whereby we may make real to ourselves the nature of that divinely appointed remedy for it which is known, in the language of technical theology, as "grace." The idea of sacramental grace, of an objective divine healing and help bestowed through or in connection with external visible actions, has been strongly denounced as "sub-personal" and "unethical." Those who hold it are accused of reducing the human soul to the level of a material thing which can be charged with a quasi-physical fluid, and of ignoring the part which the higher regions of man's personality, consciousness, reason, and will, have to play in the work of his sanctification. And a distinguished Scottish theologian, Professor H. R. Mackenzie, has declared that the Catholic and Protestant conceptions of grace are "eventually incapable of being merged in a higher unity." He justifies this by the statement that "to the Catholic, grace is ethical in aim and yet at the same time hyperphysical in character and operation, dispensed through

Sacramental Belief

an infallible and hierarchical institution, and charged with a mysteriously sanctifying power, which is manifest supremely in the Sacraments. To the evangelical Protestant, grace is the free active love of God to sinners, so personally present in Christ as to elicit faith by its intrinsically persuasive content. It is no mere supernatural force emitted by Deity—which might have no relation to Jesus, or only the barest—but the Father's will of saving mercy exhibited in the person of his Son." I maintain that Professor Mackenzie's dictum, and the whole objection to the idea of sacramental grace which lies behind it, rest upon a double misapprehension. In the first place, Professor Mackenzie does not, I think, allow for the fact that "grace" in the technical language of Catholic theology does not mean the same thing as the word "grace" when used in the English version of the New Testament to represent a Greek word which would be better translated as "graciousness" or "favour." We do, indeed, believe in God's "graciousness" as a quality of his being, but we maintain that this graciousness issues in the operations of a positive healing power, which is "sanctifying grace" in the Augustinian and theological sense of the term. There is no incompatibility whatsoever between the New Testament conception of God's "graciousness" and the theological conception of his "grace," understood in a dynamic sense. On the contrary, they mutually involve and presuppose one another. Secondly, Professor Mackenzie makes the mistake of imagining that Catholics think of God's grace as something impersonal, as a mysterious effluence or spiritual electricity projected forth by him; whereas, in point of fact, for Catholics the grace of God is nothing other than *God himself*, redeeming and rescuing in the person of the Son, sanctifying and healing in the person of the Spirit. Grace, therefore, in Catholic terminology, so far from being conceived as something sub-personal or mechanical, involves the activity both of divine and of human personality in the highest degree. I proceed to develop the analogy suggested by our psychological account of man's inherited disease in order to elucidate the strictly personal and ethical character of the sacramental remedy.

I have suggested that the congenital disease of human

The Christian Doctrine of Man

nature may be conceived as an inhibition or repression which blocks the flow of man's emotional energies in a Godward direction, and diverts it in excessive volume into the channels of the two other primary instincts. Now a lesson may be learnt from the methods employed by those surgeons of the mind, whom we call psycho-analysts or psycho-therapists, in dealing with injurious repressions of lesser importance. The first step is to discover the existence of such repressions, to drag them up into consciousness and reveal them to the patient himself. Sometimes the effect of this is to dissolve away the inhibition so that no further treatment is needed. Often, however, this is not the case, and treatment by analysis has to be succeeded by treatment through suggestion. The physician gently and gradually reduces the emotional dislocation from which the patient is suffering by monotonous, soothing, and often repeated formulæ, which implant in his subconscious mind ideas of health, peace, freedom, and joy, there to germinate and to leaven his whole being. But any successful practitioner in the art of healing through suggestion will tell you that his work is not confined to the mere vocal repetition of quasi-liturgical incantations, but that he has to put his whole will-power into it; that virtue in a real sense goes out of him, so that at the end of a full day's work he is left emotionally and physically tired; and that the successful practice of the art involves a setting up of a telepathic bond between healer and patient, energy and vitality being invisibly transfused from the consciousness of one into the subconsciousness of the other. The healer and the healed become for a limited time, and in a very imperfect degree, a spiritual unity, their personalities in some incomprehensible manner interpenetrating and blending.

This beneficent relation between two human beings gives us a category by means of which we may represent to ourselves the ineffable relation between the great Physician, Jesus Christ, and the disordered soul in which he dwells, and which, with the slow persistence of infinite love, he is gradually conforming to the image of his own perfect humanity. In and through the union of the soul with him, which is effected through Baptism, strengthened in Confirmation, and per-

Sacramental Belief

petually renewed and refreshed through Holy Communion, the mutual interpenetration of healer and patient is seen raised to its highest power. It was suggested some years ago by a scholar of great distinction, the late Dr. Sanday, that the subconscious in man is that part of his personality which is most accessible to *direct* Divine influences as distinct from the *indirect* influences which are mediated through study, intercourse with fellow-men, reading of the Bible, and other activities of the conscious mind. The suggestion was received with less respect than was its due, partly because Dr. Sanday's main eminence lay in the sphere of critical and exegetical scholarship, and the world of theologians is subject to the same perversity as the wider world of mankind in general, which is prone to assume that because a man is eminent in one sphere it is therefore impossible for him to think of a good or useful idea in connection with another. Nevertheless, I venture to revive the view which he put forward, which seems to me to rest upon a true theory of the nature of personality, and of the operations of the Divine being; and I would maintain that if the analogy of psycho-therapy be worked out consistently, it gives us a theory of sacramental grace which entirely eludes the reproach contained in the epithets "mechanical" and "sub-personal," and reveals the term "grace" as standing for nothing other than the living Lord himself, inwardly manifested in all the splendour of his Deity indissolubly united to his glorified humanity, penetrating the subconscious selves of his disciples through the power of his Spirit, and by inaudible, yet most real, suggestions of peace and purity, strength and unity, gradually transforming them into the image of himself. Such divine suggestions, operating in the region of the unconscious, no more exclude the co-operation of the conscious reason and will than do the suggestions imparted by a human psycho-therapist. It can only be described as "unethical," if the communication of the roseate flush of health to a pallid and anæmic sufferer, through the transfusion into his veins of blood from a vigorous and healthy body, be unethical; it only merits the epithet of "sub-personal," if, in defiance of the accepted usage and the established discoveries of modern psychology, the connotation

The Christian Doctrine of Man

of the term "personality" be limited to that comparatively small area of man's total being which is illuminated by the glow of consciousness. And its acceptance would clear away the difficulty which holds many good and earnest Christians back from the full Catholic belief in our Lord's sacramental presence—the difficulty, namely, that the hypothesis of his special visitation of us in Communion seems to imply that he is absent from us at other times; for we could then regard his permanent indwelling and his specifically Eucharistic coming as parts of one continuous, life-long act of soul-healing, normally proceeding below the threshold of consciousness, but rising into an intensity of realized joy and ardour in the reception of the Sacramental Body and Blood.

VI

A complete account of the Christian Doctrine of Man should include some statement of the traditional view, not merely of his present sinful condition and of the historical origin of that condition, but also of his last end and future destiny. I should be travelling too far outside the limits of my allotted subject if I were to embark upon an exhaustive formulation of Catholic eschatology; but this much, at any rate, may be said, that according to Scripture and Catholic tradition, death as we know it, with its associations of gloom and terror, formed no part of God's original plan for his human creatures, and is to be regarded as one of the consequences of the remote and mysterious event which we know as "the Fall," however that event may be conceived. Three years ago I ventured to suggest, in the University church at Oxford, that the difficulty in the way of this doctrine, raised by the fact that geology proves pain and death to have existed upon this earth millions of years before man was born, will be removed if, following up the hints let fall by some of the Greek Fathers, we conceive the Fall as an infinitely remote premundane catastrophe, which has vitiated the stream of life in all its forms, and not merely in man. But however that may be, we seem compelled by the Pauline teaching that death is the reflection and symptom of sin, or at least of

Sacramental Belief

moral weakness, to assume that, but for the "Fall," man's transition from this plane of earthly existence to the higher sphere, which is his true home, would have been painless, and devoid of those accompaniments of horror, gloom, and corruption which now surround it; his body of flesh and blood would have been refined and transubstantiated into pure spirit without the necessity of a violent physical dissolution and decay. As it is, the body of flesh must needs be sown in the furrows of the grave, before the spiritual body, free and glorious, can spring from its ruins, like the butterfly from the chrysalis. Yet, as an earthly physician can to a certain extent heal the body by suggestions implanted in the soul—

"For of the soul the body form doth take,
For soul is form, and doth the body make"—

so the heavenly Healer can work upon our bodies through our subconscious minds by his beneficent suggestion, not merely strengthening and refreshing these bodies of clay which are destined to see corruption, but building up within them the germ of the body of glory, which will be the perfect vehicle of spirit in our eternal beatific state. In this sense the Holy Eucharist is the true *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*, the "medicine of immortality." The culmination of the Christian Doctrine of Man is summed up in the words of our Prayer of Humble Access, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls washed through his most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us."

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The Context of the Eucharist



Sacraments in Other Religions

By BASIL E. BUTLER

A large, ornate initial letter 'A' in a decorative, gothic-style font. The letter is filled with intricate scrollwork and floral patterns. Inside the letter, there is a small illustration of a church building with a dome and a cross on top. The letter is surrounded by more decorative flourishes.

SACRAMENT may be described as a ceremony in which an outward sign is used as a means of conferring grace, and a sacramental religion is one in which grace is believed to be given, if not by any means exclusively, yet specially and assuredly, in connection with ceremonial actions and formulæ or sacred things. In this broad and general sense, of course, sacramentalism is almost coextensive with religion itself, and it is clearly necessary, for the purposes of this paper, to make a selection from the material at our disposal. We will therefore restrict our attention to ceremonial eatings and drinkings, in what are known as the "Mystery-Religions" of the epoch and region in which Christianity took its rise.

I

What were these mystery-religions? They were in the main sectarian and un-Hellenic cults making their way out, each from its own primitive national setting in Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, or elsewhere into the Mediterranean cosmopolitan culture of the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the commencement of the Christian era. They made their

The Context of the Eucharist

appeal, not to society in its collective aspect, but to individual men and women, without respect to sex or class or nationality. And the supreme boon which they claimed to ensure to their adherents was a blissful immortality in the presence of the gods after death. In fact, we may say that the idea of immortality played a rôle in the mystery-religions as central as that of ethical holiness in Judaism. Their vogue was probably in large measure due to the supersession of the old national or city-states, first by the great supernatural monarchies of the Hellenistic age, and then by the Roman Empire. The old religions had been bound up with the old political forms and entities, and the overthrow of the states dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the religions connected with them. At the same time the pressure upon the individual of the old, narrow, but acutely self-conscious social life was relaxed, and men began to realize at once their own individuality, no longer as Athenians or Spartans merely, but as men, and also their individual religious needs. Thus the old religions no longer satisfied, and a gap was created which the mystery-religions helped to fill. These cults lacked many of the qualities which we have learnt to associate with sound religion; they were deficient in dogma, and offered myth where we should demand history; the ethical considerations in them, when present at all, were rather accessory than essential, and they had neither the confident monotheism of Judaism and Christianity, nor—on the whole—their proud exclusiveness. Nevertheless, they appealed to the populace, partly by means of an attractive and sometimes gorgeous ceremonial, by the mystery that surrounded them and the romance of their alien aspect and origin, and again by the hopes they held out of a blessed after-life. Most of them were concerned with gods who were apparently held to have passed through sorrow, suffering, or death to a happiness beyond these woes, and this complex of good arising out of evil was brought home to the heart of the worshipper by ceremonial and ritual, whose ultimate effect may, at least in some cases, have been held, already as early as the beginning of the Christian era, to have included some identification of the deity and his worshipper. At a somewhat later date (c. A.D. 150) Apuleius, in the "Meta-

Sacraments in Other Religions

morphoses," narrating his hero's initiation into the Isiac mysteries, tells how at the end, when morning came, the neophyte was dressed in a robe and adorned like the sun, and made in fashion of an image, and was made to stand on a platform and solemnly displayed to the congregation; it would seem that here we have an example of identification with the deity. But it must be clearly understood that our evidence for the mystery-religions is scanty, scattered, often late, and incomplete; that what is true of one such cult in one period may well be untrue of another, or of the same cult at an earlier date; and that though there was in later paganism a confusion of the different cults, and a kind of coalition and unification of the various pagan religions against the growing menace of Christianity, this coalition was yet a slow process, and must not be supposed to have got beyond its initial stages in apostolic times. The great days of the mystery-religions were yet to come; at present they were still alien cults, to a large extent independent of one another, but all involved in the Westward progress which took Christianity also at an early date to Rome.

II

How far were ceremonial eatings and drinkings included among the ceremonies of the mystery-religions? This question can best be answered by an examination of the various cults one by one. First, there are two mystery-cults which have a better claim to be considered Hellenic than most of those we have been considering: these two are the Eleusinian and the Orphic.

(a) Clement of Alexandria ("Protrept.," ii, 21) gives us as the password of the Eleusinian religion the following formula: "I have fasted, I have drunk the porridge (*kykeon*), I have taken from the chest, having wrought [or perhaps, 'having tasted'], I have put back in the basket and from the basket into the chest." This porridge, or barley-drink, is presumably associated with the porridge wherewith the Eleusinian mystery-goddess Demeter was said to have broken her nine days' fast of mourning for her abducted daughter. As Dr. Farnell says: "It is probable that the votary felt, in drinking the barley-

The Context of the Eucharist

drink, a certain fellowship with the deity, who by the story had drunk it before him." In the broadest sense of the word this may be considered a sacramental act, but of any deeper significance than that of a sympathetic fellowship with Demeter we have no evidence.

(b) The evidence for ceremonial eating and drinking in the Orphic mysteries is of the vaguest. It should be remembered that the common characteristic of the mystery-religions is the secrecy with which the central rites and ceremonies are veiled from the knowledge of the uninitiated, a secrecy comparable to that of the Freemasons to-day. We have thus to conjecture what may have happened from very uncertain indications. For the Orphic ceremonial we may consider three classes of evidence: (i) that from the Orphic mythology, as probably bearing some relation to the ritual; (ii) that from the non-Orphic public ritual of the Orphic god, Dionysos—for the worship of Dionysos was not restricted to the Orphics, but preceded the rise of that sect; (iii) the evidence of some wall-paintings from Pompeii which, the Italian scholar, Macchioro, thinks, depict an initiation into the mysteries of a conflate Eleusinian and Orphic sect.

(i) The Orphic mythology tells how the infant god, Dionysos, was enticed away from his nurses by the giant Titans, torn in pieces and eaten; he was subsequently born again of the high god, Zeus, and man is sprung from the ashes of the Titans, whom Zeus slew with his thunderbolt. We are thus compact of the evil nature of the Titans (identified with our bodies) and the divine nature of Dionysos, whom they had consumed, our souls being this divine part of us; and our task and aim are to escape from the prison-house of the body and live beyond the grave the untrammelled existence of the immortal gods. It should be noticed that it was apparently "in connection with the initiatory rites" that "Orpheus," according to the tradition, "handed down the rending of Dionysos by the Titans" (Diodorus, v, 75, 4).

(ii) There survived in Crete down to the latter days of paganism the orgiastic worship of a boy-god, among the ceremonies of which, according to the Christian writer, Firmicus Maternus, there took place a rending with the teeth

Sacraments in Other Religions

of a "live bull"—we must suppose that Maternus has somewhat misrepresented the performance, and that what actually took place was the slaughtering of a bull, whose flesh was forthwith eaten raw—it is hard to imagine a live bull allowing himself to be rent by human teeth. Another Christian writer (Arnobius, v, 19) speaks of Dionysiac ceremonies in which the worshippers twist snakes round themselves, and, "to show that they are possessed by the divine majesty of the god, tear with bloodstained lips the flesh of struggling goats." There are other indications which suggest that in some cases the animals thus treated may possibly have been in some way identified with the god Dionysos, who, you will remember, was himself held to have been torn in pieces and eaten by the Titans.

(iii) The wall-paintings at Pompeii show, in one of a series of panels, a meal at which the person undergoing initiation takes part, and, in the next panel, Macchioro thinks he can descry a female satyr suckling a kid. It is, of course, probable that the meal has sacramental significance, at least of the very vague kind suggested for the Eleusinian porridge; and it is conceivable that the kid is in some sense to be identified with Dionysos. But in order to make it even probable that the food eaten is identified either with the kid or with Dionysos, it would have been necessary for the order of the panels to be reversed; and it is unlikely that Macchioro has mistaken the order in which the pictures are to be read. It should further be pointed out that the double climax of the passion and of the exultant joy of the neophyte seems to occur at a later stage than that in which the meal is eaten and the kid depicted. Thus the evidence for an Orphic meal of any more than the most indeterminate sacramental significance is so far vague and inconclusive in the extreme. I will add, however, one piece of evidence that might show more than this if it could be proved that it refers to Orphic mysteries, and not to non-Orphic Dionysiac rites. A Greek editor's note on Clement of Alexandria's "Protreptikon" (i, p. 433D) says: "Those being initiated to Dionysos used to eat raw flesh, performing this rite as a representation of the rending which Dionysos underwent at the hands of the Mænads." But in the Orphic myth

The Context of the Eucharist

it was apparently the Titans, not the Mænads, who tore Dionysos in pieces; the note, then, for what it is worth, cannot be taken as evidence for Orphic rites or ideas.

(c) We pass on to the ceremonies of the Attis-religion. This was a Phrygian religion which was extending its influence in the Mediterranean at about the time of our Lord's earthly life, and was probably sanctioned at Rome by the Emperor Claudius (who is mentioned in Acts as contemporary with St. Paul). A formula of the Attis-religion is preserved by Clement of Alexandria: "I have eaten from the drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have borne the sacred basket, I have gone down into the marriage-chamber." It should be observed that drum, cymbal, and basket were among the paraphernalia of the religion. A similar formula is given by Firmicus Maternus: "I have eaten from the drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I am become a votary ('mystes') of Attis." Here, doubtless, we have in the broad sense a sacramental partaking of food and drink; but it has been argued that the food and drink were actually held by the believers to convey life to the soul. For Firmicus Maternus, from the Christian point of view, asserts that, as a matter of fact, *death* is the sequel to the pagan meal, and recommends, as the true food of life, the Bread and the Cup of Christ. But the contrast of life and death, as following respectively the pagan and the Christian sacramental meal, may have been suggested to the mind of Firmicus by his own remark that the Attis-worshipper uttered the words of the formula "that he might be admitted, *a man about to die*, in the inner parts of the temple." The comparison of Christian and pagan sacred foods goes back to St. Paul and recurs in St. Justin Martyr, and it is quite possible that Firmicus has exaggerated the similarity of the significance of the two things. In any case, it must be remembered that he is writing centuries after Apostolic times, and that there is still one further step to go, even beyond admitting that the food and drink in the Attis-rite were life-giving, before it could be asserted that they were in any way identified with the god himself.

(d) In an inscription relating to the Great Gods of Samothrace, we are told (if the inscription has been correctly

Sacraments in Other Religions

emended): "The priest shall cut up and administer the cake, and distribute the liquor to the votaries."

(e) Again, there is a statement in St. Justin Martyr* ("Apol.," I, 66) to the effect that in the mysteries of Mithras the demons have contrived a caricature of the Christian Eucharist. For bread and a cup of water "are set forth in the initiatory rites with certain forms of words" (or "a form of words" or "incantation"). The water was apparently mixed with *haoma*-juice, or possibly (in the West) with wine. We are also told that at one stage in the ceremonies honey was applied to the tongue. There is, of course, a possibility that this Mithraic rite *is* an imitation of the Christian Eucharist, though—as with almost all the ritual eatings and drinkings discussed above—it seems to have formed part of the *initiatory* ceremonies, whereas the Eucharist is the often-repeated meal of those who are *already* Christians. It is interesting that the worship of Mithras was probably already common in Asia Minor before the beginning of the Christian era.

(f) With regard to the Egyptian-Hellenistic deities, Isis and Serapis, we have an interesting papyrus in which a certain Chairemon invites someone to dinner "at the table of the Lord Serapis, in the Serapæum, to-morrow," and we are told by Aristides that unto this god alone men share in the real communion of sacrifices, inviting to the hearth and setting him forth as banqueter and host. If this refers to a mystery-worship of Serapis, it is one of the closest parallels to the Pauline presentation of the Eucharist (1 Cor. x). But there is no trace here of an identification of Serapis with the meal that is eaten.

We have now considered the important cases of sacred eatings and drinkings in the mystery-religions, so far as the scanty evidence will allow. On the basis of these facts a theory has been built up, which may be divided into two parts: (a) It has been suggested that some at least of these meals were "theophagic"—*i.e.*, that at least in some of them the worshipper believed himself to partake of the very substance of his god; (b) it is then argued that the Christian

* Cf. also Tertullian's reference to the Mithraic meal.

The Context of the Eucharist

Eucharist owes its character of a partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ to the influence of the mystery-religions. It is asserted that such a sacrament cannot be supposed to have originated in its present form with our Lord, whose human nature expressed itself in forms congenial to his Palestinian Jewish environment—an environment to which a sacramental meal consisting of the Body and Blood of a supernatural being would be completely alien. This, however, is often made one part of a larger theory, which is concerned to explain, as a distortion of primitive Christianity by pagan influence, not merely the sacramentalism of the Catholic Church, but its Christology also.

III

We are here to deal only with that aspect of this far-reaching theory which concerns the Eucharist. And it may be pointed out, at the outset, that the Catholic who believes in the divine overruling of the Church can confidently submit the matter to the best historical criticism, convinced that even should paganism be shown to have had any material influence on the Eucharist, such influence would not have been exerted without the permission of God. As a matter of fact, the theory lays itself open to severe criticism.

(a) It will be recalled that in our examination of the sacramental eatings and drinkings in the mystery-religions we could find no clear trace, early or late, of the idea of eating the god. Even the idea of life being conveyed by the Attis-meal is only to be inferred with considerable doubt from the remarks of a late Christian writer. For actual theophagy we have to turn to what can be conjectured concerning non-mystery Dionysiac cults in Greece, Crete, and the Ægean Islands, and to the barbaric or primitive ideas of Egypt and other environments remote from that of St. Paul. But if we can find no trace of theophagy in the mystery-religions, their sacramental meals cannot give us much positive assistance in explaining the Christian Eucharist; for to find religious meals in the neighbourhood of early Christianity we need go no further than the Jewish sect of the Essenes; thus the idea of such a meal might well have come, not merely to the

Sacraments in Other Religions

Palestinian Apostles, but to their Master himself, quite apart from the mystery-religions; while the actual nature of the Food and Drink, as the Body and Blood of Christ, can be paralleled by no extant analogies either among the Jews or in the mystery-religions of that age.

(b) It must also be remembered that New Testament Eucharistic thought seems to cluster round the idea of sacrifice; St. Paul compares the Eucharistic Food and Drink with the sacrificial offerings at the Jewish Temple and with the animals "sacrificed to idols." And "the New Covenant in my Blood" recalls the blood of the sacrificial offerings wherewith Moses sealed the Old Covenant. But it would seem difficult to detect any sacrificial ideas associated with the ceremonial meals of the mysteries, except probably that Aristides' evidence with regard to Serapis points in this direction, for that god's worship alone.

(c) Again, it is a cogent argument, that, in contrast with the majority of the Gentile religions of the time, Christianity, like Judaism, was proudly and self-consciously exclusive. To become a Christian was not so much to gain a somewhat fuller insight into the nature of religion—it was to turn from idols to serve a living and a true God. Thus, quite apart from the secrecy with which the mystery-religions enveloped themselves, borrowing from them on the part of the early Church is almost inconceivable. In particular, Dr. N. P. Williams has pointed out, and Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson concurs, as to the enormous *a priori* improbability that St. Paul, whose attitude towards pagan cults varies from abhorrence to contempt, "should have unsuspectingly allowed the texture of his devotion and his thought to become saturated by conceptions borrowed from those very 'Mysteries' which it was the object of his mission to destroy." I am glad, also, to be able to quote Professor Percy Gardner (*Modern Churchman*, vol. xvi, 6-8) to the effect, not only that "there is no adequate evidence for the notion that there was in the pagan Mysteries anything at all parallel to the Christian Eucharist," but also that, generally speaking, he thinks "we should be sceptical as to any direct influence of the Mysteries on Christianity." Parallelism, he says, "is far more probable than derivation."

The Context of the Eucharist

(d) Then, finally, if we turn to the evidence of the New Testament itself, we are struck by St. Paul's assertion: "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you," with which assertion he prefaces his account of the institution of the Eucharist, including the words, "This is my Body," "This cup is the New Testament in my Blood," and "This do in remembrance of me." "I have received of the Lord" might conceivably mean "I received by direct revelation, independent of any human tradition." But the following considerations make it probable that what St. Paul means, and what is the fact, is that he received this piece of instruction from the Christian or Christians who prepared him for baptism, and imparted to him the traditions of Christianity at Damascus twenty years before, and that he believes it to rest ultimately on the authority of our Lord himself in his earthly life.

(i) Both here and in 1 Cor. xv, where he is recalling the traditional teaching with regard to our Lord's death and resurrection, St. Paul seems to identify his own relationship to the tradition with that of his converts; but since they obviously received it from human lips as part of the common deposit of Christian truth, it is reasonable to suppose that he did too.

(ii) Both the style and the content of the succeeding verses suggest that they are a piece of sober Christian, almost credal, instruction, and not that St. Paul is relating visions of the Lord and things ineffable.

(iii) The words "This is my Body," "This is my Blood of the New Testament" are found in the Marcan account of the Last Supper. This gospel was probably written by a Christian Jew of Jerusalem, who had been a companion of St. Peter, and who produced his work at Rome c. A.D. 67. The Roman Church was thriving, as we can see from the Epistle to the Romans, long before St. Paul came into personal contact with it. In the circumstances, it is paradoxical to suggest that St. Mark's gospel contains an account of the Last Supper which, as to its essentials (and highly controversial essentials they would surely have been), is based merely on a vision of St. Paul.

(iv) There is no clear trace of any controversy in the early

Sacraments in Other Religions

Church caused by this version of the Eucharist; but St. Paul's opponents among the Judaizers might have been expected to seize on an innovation by him of such a kind.

Thus we are driven to the view that St. Paul owes his Eucharistic teaching to tradition, and there is every probability that he received it shortly after his conversion. Now, quite apart from the fact that this is narrated in Acts before the great appeal to the Gentile world at Antioch, and that (consistently with this) St. Paul was baptized by a man with the Jewish name of Ananias (and in fact would never have gone to Damascus unless there were there enough *Jewish* Christians to make their extradition worth while), the early date and the region to which this Eucharistic teaching has thus been thrust back seem to make "mystery-religion" influence almost inconceivable.

We conclude that what we know and what we do not know about the mystery-religions, along with the general character and spirit of early Christianity and St. Paul, and, finally, the actual evidence of the New Testament itself, critically considered, constitute three great converging probabilities, leading on the whole towards the conclusion that Christian Eucharistic ideas and practice, at the stage of their development represented by St. Paul and St. Mark, are in all essentials free from the influence of the mystery-religions.

The Context of the Eucharist

❧ II ❧

The Sacraments of the Church and the Presence of God in Nature

By N. K. H. A. COGHILL



WE live upon an obscure planet; our solar system lies aloof from the main constellations of the sky, and is as a fringe or tassel pendant from them, and at a great distance. Compared to the larger companies of stars and their satellites this world and its fellow planets that spin round the sun might be thought to have the importance of a few moths circling about a candle. Yet this earth, little and remote as it seems when we look at the shining company of the Milky Way, is no less governed by the laws of Nature which science interprets to us, and no less informed by the brooding and immeasurable spirit of God, whom we most surely approach through the sacraments of the Church.

By "Nature" I mean that ordered mechanism of the sensible Universe which we believe to have been either established at the Creation, or to have evolved since in obedience to regular and mechanical laws—laws which can have scientific recognition, and by which the material Universe as we know it is thought to persist. On the other hand, that is Supernatural which can be neither measured, proved, nor disproved by the experiments of science, but which is none the less felt in our deepest convictions to be the Will or Presence of God, penetrating or working within the limits of Time and Space through the instrumentality of Matter. Thus the natural is that which may be apprehended and measured, the supernatural that which may be apprehended but not measured.

The Presence of God in Nature

Any human mind which fairly contemplates the unhesitating regularity of the processes of Nature is at first overtaken by an awe akin to desolation. Relentless and impersonal forces seem to control natural phenomena: blind and blundering forces, whose routine is so absolute that it does not swerve even to protect a great planet from the flaming lash of a wandering comet's tail. These forces permit and are manifested in storms and plagues, earthquakes and eruptions; they are not concerned to prevent the material worlds in which they operate from being shattered in their courses or swallowed up in fire. In our own world natural phenomena are seen to minister indifferent destruction and prosperity to mankind, without intention to do good, without regret for doing irreparable harm. The Nile floods its banks, and part of Egypt is enriched. The Mississippi floods its banks, and part of America is laid waste. Lightning will strike church, cottage, or crag with dispassionate ferocity. Nothing is more palpable than the utter indifference of Nature to human happiness and human catastrophe.

All these forces of Nature imply what we call Power, and the notion of power is associated in the human mind with some Personality that exercises that power. Primitive races, seeing many powers in Nature, have multiplied the personalities responsible for them, and have invented countless gods and demons to whom they attribute the beneficent and malignant operations of Nature respectively. Anthropology can furnish scores of nature spirits imagined by the savage mind to inhabit the winds, to speak in the voice of thunder, to preside over the fertility of crops and animals, bringing good luck or bad according as they are kind or cruel, pleased or angry: for the savage eye sees trees as men walking, and a demon in eerie shadows of a grove. Such mentalities hasten to make obeisance to the imagined sources of their fears, and, in order to placate these powerfully fancied spirits, they have devised rituals and sacrifices attended by every circumstance of cruelty and lust. The doctrine that one man must die for the people has produced a sad tale of victims all over the world through the ages, and the witch-doctor has perfected the technique of his magic in seas of animal and human blood. Often these

The Context of the Eucharist

savage religions have offered analogies to Christianity so horrible and grotesque as to seem a devil's parody; and many kindly and reflective men have turned away from the Faith of Christ simply because they could see in it no more than the relics of barbarous and primitive superstitions.

This sense of a calculating power or powers in the forces of Nature has not been abandoned even in civilized times. The conception has become less crude; animism and polytheism have given way to monotheism, and the Hebrew Bible has taught Islam and Christendom that there is but one God, "who made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved at any time," and "who made the stars also." But although a study of the Old Testament offers a grand perspective of the human soul realizing God in progressive strides, from the early conception of a tribal deity, easily jealous, easily provoked, to that of the architect of the Universe, and no respecter of persons, he was still conceived of as being specially and physically present in certain material objects, such as the Ark of the Covenant, which it was death to touch, and in certain geographical spots, as Zion or Horeb, to be approached barefooted, like the burning bush. This notion that God is now contained by, or physically resident in, any dead material object is absolutely non-Christian and non-Catholic, though it is often ascribed to Catholicism by people who misunderstand Catholic teaching on the Sacraments in general and especially on the Sacrament of the Mass.

Another civilized development of the idea of the Unity of God is the concept that he is a pervasive spirit resident or immanent in the substance of all matter; this pantheistic doctrine accepts the Universe as it appears to the senses, and endows those appearances with an inner life which is declared to be the immanent Godhead. The poet Wordsworth has perhaps given the most moving expression to this idea. This is his claim :

"I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns

The Presence of God in Nature

And the round ocean and the living air
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought
And rolls through all things. . . .”

This intuition of the immanence or residence of God in Nature, which conceives of him as pervading and penetrating all local and temporal objects, is an emotional intuition, and as such is attackable by contrary emotions and by logic. We may be emotionally satisfied to perceive God resident in the material composition of a flower; we are less glad to recognize him in the material composition of a cancer. We may feel his essence interfused in hemp, but not in the hangman's rope. These, however, are mere feelings; and feelings depend on the natural senses that feel them, and these in turn depend internally on the state of our health, and externally on the appearances known as Time and Space. In fact, these feelings have only the sham guarantees of emotion and appearance, and inevitably give a local and temporal twist to our conception of God. When this happens, religion begins to be degraded.

Let us, then, briefly consider what we feel about Time and Space, and whether we can transcend them in thought, so as to reach a larger idea of God's Presence.

Owing to the relation in which we, by nature, stand to this so-called material universe, we cannot help thinking of Space as that in which certain hard objects in three dimensions exist, and of Time as a perpetual series through which they exist. We see ourselves in Time as though we were on a regular and endlessly moving stairway, with our backs turned to the direction in which we are going; we can see what has passed; we cannot see what is to come: act follows act, cause follows effect in a steady progression that can be counted by clockwork. Or we may think of Time as a long, straight road—length without breadth—along which we must move willy-nilly: when we think of Eternity, we imagine this road infinitely continued in either direction; continued, that is, until the mind tires of imagining it, which point, in our littleness,

The Context of the Eucharist

we call Infinity. We cannot, for instance, visualize Time as an area, for we perceive in this life only the length and not the breadth. It raises little or no image in the mind to speak of a state of Timelessness from which an observer could view all acts that ever were or will be, all movements that ever were made or are still to be made, in one simultaneous and comprehensive Perception. Difficult as such a conception is to grasp, it is essential to forming even the first notion of Eternity. For by Eternity is not meant the road of Time indefinitely produced, but a state in which there is no distinction between what was and what is and what is to be. So, too, with Space. The mind, operating in a three-dimensional body, having length, breadth, and height, is no more capable of visualizing a fourth, fifth or *n*th dimension of Space, than a creature of two dimensions such as a shadow, endowed with consciousness, and living in Flatland, could understand that there was anything *above* him, or that there was any such thing as aboveness.

A human being is accustomed to think pictorially, and makes pictures out of the materials offered to him by his five senses, and so Man, working with apparently three-dimensioned bodies, moving at a regular speed along a groove in the expanse or possibly cube of Time, finds it hard to conceive of any vantage point from which he can be viewed except in terms of Time and Space as he understands them, and which, as he does so, limit his understanding. His very language is shaped by the elementary conditions of Time and Space. He says God is visible *in* this substance, or *through* that substance, or *under* such and such a veil; so that the very words "in" and "through" and "under" give the wrong and *spacial* notions of God, who is a spirit. It is not as though God were light, heat, or electricity, or any other vibration of matter, for the prepositions used to describe them imply something that can be measured scientifically; the light is *in* an electric bulb, the heat is *in* a calorimeter, or the current is *in* an electric wire, and can be measured. In all use of such prepositions we must remember that we are drawing metaphors from Time and Space, almost without noticing that we are doing so, and that no statement about the Sacraments which involves prepositions invented for use in Time and Space, can be considered

The Presence of God in Nature

as literally true. At the institution of the Last Supper, Christ used no preposition, but said simply: "This is my Body . . . this is my Blood." My meaning and belief on this point will appear more clearly later. Meanwhile I must return for a moment to the necessity of conceiving God as existing in the No-Time, No-Space of Eternity. He is Alpha and Omega, beginning and end fused into a single concept.

It is possible for rare souls of the mystical or contemplative kind to reach a perception of the Timeless, Spaceless Presence or Will of God. The highest point of contemplation reached by the great mystical minds, seems to the scoffer an insane paradox. It may be briefly described as a state of intense activity which is also wholly passive. A state in which the mind is utterly emptied of every thought and picture, and in which the emotions and senses have ceased to operate upon a natural plane; and yet a state in which the soul, transcending the limitations of its own body, as of Time and Space, knows that it is joined to the absolute Fountain of all that is, by which union it expands into an activity of joy so greatly given and received that it cannot be communicated in any human language.* Those who have felt this can understand the sentence of William Blake: "The body is that part of the soul which is perceived through the five senses." It is of this state that St. John the Divine spoke, though limited by the infirmities of human metaphor, in describing "Angels that rest not day or night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty which was and which is and which is to come."

We have already seen how humanity has struggled towards the vision of God, first in the forces of Nature, through fear of destruction or through hope of fertility, a struggle attended by bitter cruelties and superstition. We have further seen the gentler convictions of deep-thinking prophets and poets that thought of God as a pervasive spirit dwelling throughout the range of Matter, and I have suggested how difficult of logical acceptance is this doctrine of the Immanent Presence of God in Nature, since the human mind has not yet discovered what

* *Vide* Dom Cuthbert Butler, "Western Mysticism." Constable and Co., *passim*.

The Context of the Eucharist

exactly Matter *is*, nor has it been able scientifically and experimentally to transcend the limits of Time and Space through which it is forced to work. It has only been able to transcend these limits in the imaginative thought, whether secular or religious, of contemplative or philosophical minds.

Put briefly, the conclusion is that many of the best minds, whether Christian or not, have been led to the following two-fold proposition: first, that the timeless and spaceless spirit of God is partially and occasionally mediated through Time and Space, or, to use another metaphor, that the supernatural can, in fact, invade the natural *without material alteration of Nature*. Secondly, that the human soul can at rare moments achieve cognisance of, or union with, this Spirit, whence it receives an unspeakable Love or Grace, and that this act of union is the highest activity of the human soul. That this double proposition is the germ of what Christians call the Sacramental theory of Life is obvious when we turn to the Church Catechism.

Q. "What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?"

A. "I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us. . . ."

Before finishing the quotation, let it be observed that the broad sacramental principle, summed up in the two headings just dealt with, is not necessarily dependent upon Christianity. It is the second half of the quotation that is exclusively Christian:

"Ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we receive the same and a pledge to assure us thereof."

In other words, we claim our authority for regarding the Sacraments as *regular* in their operation, to be the infallible authority of Christ. Thus we are not left in darkness and doubt. For although, as we have seen, any member of the human race, whether born before Christ or since, may reach a conviction that Nature is informed or sustained by a vast spirit with which he can have flashes of joyful communion, yet this conviction depends upon his mood at the moment. At times he has the vision, at times he feels the grace. Then both seem to vanish and he is left in loneliness, having no guarantee either for the validity or the recurrence of his experience. Such a

The Presence of God in Nature

man would perhaps gladly forgo the vision so that he were fortified by the grace; for vision is an appearance to the senses, a mere interpretation of Reality, whereas grace is Reality itself, and may be drunk down generously and even unconsciously into the soul, so that the soul knows not even that it has been blessed. Thus, without the authority of Christ, the reception of grace by contact with God is an irregular experience, depending not upon faith in the Divine authority and promise of Christ, but upon the wayward and fallible emotion of the moment, whether reasonable or hysterical, whether reacting to reality or to illusion. But within the Church, having Christ's promise, we know that we receive grace, through the Sacraments, whether we are immediately conscious of this by vision or emotion or not. It cannot be too often insisted that our emotions in receiving any sacrament of the Church are of hardly any importance, depending as they do so largely on biological causes. What matters is the reception of that Reality into our souls which Christ promised to all who ask in faith. Faith is not an emotion, but a continuous intellectual operation of the will in a specific direction. It is useless and irrelevant for a man to complain that he sees no visions and feels no ecstasy at Mass. If he accepts the Sacrament in faith, he will receive the grace, whatever he feels about it. Who but a fool would hanker for an appearance when he has received a reality? "Blessed is he that hath not seen and yet hath believed."

To the Christian the complete and absolute example of the sacramental principle in operation is the Incarnation of Christ. In that unique event the Will and Presence of God was really, wholly, and exclusively embodied in the flesh and blood of a man, without in any sense abating the omnipresence of God, which, as I have tried to explain, should be taken as meaning the simultaneous presentation of all facts in Time and Space to God who is Love without or beyond Time or Space.

Now the Incarnation of Christ was a fact to which a particular date in time, and a particular spot in space can be ascribed—that is, in Palestine, nearly two thousand years ago. We have seen, too, that the supernatural does not interfere with the natural, but invades or co-operates with it: therefore, viewed as an event in Time and Space the Incarnation was

The Context of the Eucharist

bound to come to an end. Had Christ not died as men die, the Incarnation would not have been as completely human as it was completely divine. The death of Christ was therefore a necessary fact. Consequently, it is evident from the nature of Nature that all human souls could not be present upon earth—nay more, in Galilee—at the time of Christ's Incarnation. Therefore, in order that the benefits of the sacrament of the Incarnation might not be lost to posterity, it was necessary for Christ to institute means by which those benefits might be perpetuated for ever through Time and Space: otherwise human access to God would have remained the sporadic irregular and unreliable thing of emotional experience which it was before, and which it still is to all who do not avail themselves of the regular sacramental life of the Church. The means which he instituted were an organization of simple natural phenomena, converted by his Will into a mechanism through which supernatural activity could be known to operate independently of mere emotional apprehension. It was to be continued along the road of Time through the human agency of ministers, chained in a long chain of hands to his own nailed hands by the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests. This mechanism was designed to meet both the immediate and quotidian needs of the human soul and also those of the great landmarks of human life. At birth, baptism, which Christ himself received as an example. In later life, marriage, which he adorned and beautified with his Presence in Cana of Galilee, and of the inviolability of which he so often later spoke. In sickness, unction, which was also figured forth upon his own Body. For the daily needs of the soul, the Sacrament of the forgiveness of sin, and the Sacrament of the altar.

This last presents and is a memorial of the Last Supper and the Sacrifice of the Cross, which we, born too late in time, can never see, but the grace of which is conveyed to us that receive in faith, by his promise. And the explanation of how these things can be is most clearly understood if we grasp the fact that the baptism in Jordan, the wedding in Cana of Galilee, the anointing of Jesus, the commission given to the Apostles, the forgiveness of sins, the sacrifice on Calvary, and

The Presence of God in Nature

all the other benefits of the Incarnation, which to us are in time past, are, in Eternity, that Spaceless Timelessness that I have tried to describe, present to God for ever, for God needs no book and no recording angel, having the whole expanse of all that ever was and is and ever shall be eternally present to him. Our Sacraments, memorials in form, are by the will of God and promise of Christ *identified with* their prototypes which are present to God, though past for us. For this reason Christ said: "This *is* my Body, and this *is* my Blood; do this in remembrance of me." Thus the sacrifice of the Mass is not a new sacrifice, but is identified with the original complete, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice of Christ, in Time, on Calvary, by the supernatural sacramental means of transcending Time and Space (the mere counters by which we feel and think) and through which God can co-operate with our Faith at his pleasure, for the reception of the benefits of the Incarnation of his Son. We do not live by bread alone.

It may be objected that, if all this talk of the relativity of Time and Space be true, why did not Christ explain it himself? The answer may be put in his own words: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." The Religion of Christ offers intellectual problems, and will always do so; for every succeeding age invents its own problems in Christianity, and finds its own solutions, as the march and counter-march of thought and science continues. That Christians should make an effort to collate scientific discovery with religious truth is well enough. But the essential is that no one, however simple or subtle, should be shut out from the sacramental life; that is, from the benefits that flow from the Incarnation, which a child as well as a philosopher can understand and believe, words which no discussion can either embellish or obscure, if they are read with the loving attention of faith. It matters less that we should understand the Sacraments than that we should receive their benefits.

Finally it may be questioned: "Is it necessary to embark upon a method of life which involves the supernatural?" The plain mind may argue that a natural man living in a natural world may live a healthy and contented natural life, observing decent behaviour on ethical rules which he has evolved for

The Context of the Eucharist

himself without help from Biblical codes or supernatural grace. It is possible for a man never seriously to transgress the moral law, and to be what is called "a good man" without any other assistance than the strength of his private judgment and free will.

To these assertions there are many objections which may be briefly condensed under two headings:

In the first place, psychology teaches that the total mind of every individual, whether conscious or subconscious, is a thing so tortuously complex, so sensitive to suggestions over which he has no control, and so subtle in reactions that may involve him in the grievous ruin of a disordered and multiple personality, that no one at all can trust himself so far as to assume that he can get along by himself, even though he may speciously appear able to do so, and to dispense with the help of God. The second objection which I will mention here is this, that the end of true religion is *not* merely to live a good life, and to be tolerably free from moral guilt. For true religion the natural good life is not the end: it is only the indispensable preliminary. As Blake wrote: "If morality was Christianity, Socrates was the Saviour."

The end and object of religion is union and communion with the Will and Presence of the eternal Lord of Love. A soul wilfully evil cannot communicate with this Absolute Good; therefore a sincere effort to live a moral life is a preliminary necessity, and the Christian religion teaches the means for this; but the Christian religion has also more to offer the human soul than a system of rectitude. For a Christian, *to be good is not enough*. It is like having an unused passport to the Kingdom of Heaven. To enter that Kingdom it is necessary to know the Way, the Truth, and the Life, that avenue through which Reality has chosen specially and infallibly to manifest itself; it is necessary to tune the soul to those overtones that can at times be caught in the light of setting suns and in the living air, overtones the benefits of which are made ever available to us through those channels appointed by Christ to conduct to posterity the merits of his Incarnation and Passion, and these channels are the Sacraments of the Church received in Faith.

The Presence of God in Nature

Here is the reconciling of the controversy between faith and works. First, by works, to strive after the good life, which is the life of love, lived in time and space, and secondly, by faith, to be united to that good Life which is the life of Love Eternal, beyond and transcending time and space, to the reception of the vigour and understanding of the Spirit of Truth, poured out from the Sacrament of the Incarnation that is still present to God, and is made present to Man through the organism instituted by Christ—namely, the Sacraments of the Catholic Church.

❀ III ❀

Sacraments and Mysticism

By EVELYN UNDERHILL



HE subject of this paper is one on which many people have very cloudy ideas; and I think that it will be well worth while to begin by considering just what we mean by these two words.

By a sacrament, then, I mean the Supernatural given to men through natural means. That is, through the consecrating touch, through the hallowing and special use of physical things—oil and water, bread and wine. A sacrament gives us the invisible Reality by visible ways. That is really the same as the definition of the Catechism: it is an outward sign of an inward grace. I think this definition will apply to all sacramental religion, and not only to the Christian Sacraments. Everyone who really uses a sacrament believes that by these physical things and physical actions spiritual work is truly done.

What is a mystic? At first sight, it seems as though he were the exact opposite of a sacramentalist. For a mystic

The Context of the Eucharist

is a spiritual realist: a person for whom the Invisible is a matter of more or less vivid first-hand experience, and not only of accepted belief. He feels and knows the Presence and Action of God; his relation with spiritual realities is personal and direct. He is conscious of the supernatural sunshine to which most of us are blind, and of an intercourse which goes on in the deeps of his soul between his little dependent spirit and the infinite Spirit of God.

Now it looks as though such a type of religion as this had no need of, and little contact with, the sacramental sort of religious outlook and practice. Why seek and receive God through consecrated things and outward deeds? Why insist on the need of meeting him at the altar, of receiving his regenerating grace at the font, when he is so clearly present with his creature in the soul's secret life? The mystic beyond all other men can say with absolute conviction: "He is not far from any one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being." So, why these special ritual actions? And why this consecrating of physical things, if all things are already felt and known to be immersed in his all-sustaining love and life?

This sort of thing has, of course, been said, and these conclusions have been drawn, by many hurried admirers of "pure" spirituality. It has constantly been assumed that there is an essential opposition between mystical religion and sacramental religion; and that persons who use external means of grace must be on a lower spiritual level than those whose communion with God is without means. But when we come to look at history—that remorseless destroyer of religious generalities—and test these ideas by facts, what we find is that the very greatest Christian mystics, from the fourth Evangelist onwards, have also been great sacramentalists. They agree with Suso that it is a greater thing to be able to find the inward in the outward than only to be able to find the inward in the inward.

It is perhaps the greatest glory of Catholic mysticism that it teaches souls to make that discovery, and so discloses the very principle of the Incarnation—God self-given to men in terms of our little human life—still ceaselessly at work within the world. Just because of their deeper knowledge of God,

Sacraments and Mysticism

their fuller sense of his mystery and richness, the mystics find more, not less, reality than others do in his sacramental gifts. And because this deeper knowledge brings with it a sense of the distance which separates even the most spiritualized human nature from the Divine Nature, they know the soul requires something given to it from beyond itself—the actual food of Eternal Life—if it is to grow up to the fulness of the stature of Christ. Thus we find even such wonderful contemplatives as St. Catherine of Siena and St. Catherine of Genoa, whose souls were wide open towards the Eternal World, most humbly and gratefully receiving the gifts of that World in their daily communions.

It is said of St. Catherine of Siena that Holy Communion was the very centre of her inner life, the gateway to ecstasy; and that even her bodily existence seemed to depend on it. For St. Catherine of Genoa, one of the least churchy and conventional, most platonic, most metaphysical of all the great women mystics, the Eucharist was the absorbing devotion of her life. She, who dwelt in God as in an ocean of love and life, called it “the heart’s true food,” and in a period when such practice was rare, she obtained permission to be a daily communicant.

Again, it is to St. Thomas Aquinas, a great philosopher and a great mystic, whose conception of the Nature of God went far beyond the symbols and images by which men try to express what he is, that the Church owes her greatest Eucharistic hymns. And Ruysbroeck, the most lofty of the great mediæval contemplatives, with his wonderful accounts of the soul’s self loss in the fathomless ocean of the Godhead, yet never lost his passionate devotion to, and dependence on, the Blessed Sacrament; and Eucharistic language appears again and again in his most transcendental works. And while it is true that isolated groups have constantly arisen through Christian history, which have sought the inward at the expense of the outward, and violently rejected symbols, ceremonies, and sacraments in their quest of pure spirituality, it is certain that these groups have always tended to become narrow, intense, and sectarian, and their members have fallen short of the highest and humblest types of saintliness. In repudiating

The Context of the Eucharist

external religion, they have somehow missed that full rounded richness of the mystical life, which is able to turn to spiritual use both the body and the soul of man.

What, then, are we to make of this? Why is it that just those persons who most vividly realize the spaceless and infinite God present in the soul, those whom more than any others we can think of as speaking to him as one friend with another, are yet impelled to seek him most humbly and ardently in finite ways, and through homely, outward, and visible signs? I think the reason is given us in that great utterance of St. Augustine, the father of Christian mysticism, in which he says to God: "Thou wert more inward to me than my most inward part, *and* higher than my highest."

"Thou wert more inward than my most inward part"—that is the Quaker doctrine of the inner light; which, taken alone and unchecked, slides so easily into pantheism, and if regarded as the whole truth, of course leaves no place whatever for the sacraments. But for St. Augustine and the great mystics of his tradition it is *not* the whole truth. "Thou wert higher than my highest!" That is the adoring sense of God's transcendent Perfection, the Holy, the Supernatural, the Unchanging: a level of Reality, wholly other than the soul, unreachable by man's own effort, and yet for which the awakened soul longs and thirsts.

That conception means something which we can never find by exploring our own souls; something so high that our utmost spiritual reach cannot attain it, and which must be given to us from outside ourselves. The great mystics, in proportion to the width and depth of their vision, are ever conscious of this exceeding richness of God, beyond all his manifestations in Nature, and all that their souls can comprehend; and of their own tininess, yet their need and longing to receive him. No unpacking of the soul's portmanteau, however spiritual its contents, is going to satisfy their thirst for Reality; for they know themselves to be, not merely clever animals, specially good products of the immanent Life-force, but children of the living God with a capacity for Eternal Life; inheritors of the supernatural Kingdom of Heaven. And, therefore, for the full development of the seed of life

Sacraments and Mysticism

within them, they know they need the free gift of Eternal Life from beyond them; the grace that leads on to sanctity. This is not a result of the evolutionary process—it comes from beyond the world. “Thou givest them bread from heaven to eat.” And if that gift is to be made to all faithful and loving souls, and not just to persons of spiritual genius; then it must be made in ways which are suitable to a creature who is still immersed in physical life, who is living the life of the senses as well as the life of the Spirit, and is unable to draw too sharp a line between them. It must come, then, by visible signs and deeds, and not by spiritual intimations alone.

Here, then, Christian mysticism expands to embrace not only the dim, but real discovery of the Spirit of God within the soul, inciting it to holiness; but also the discovery that God must come *to* that soul along the channels of sense—that is, through sacramental grace—in order to make this holiness possible. Wherever man becomes spiritually awakened, it seems that these two great facts become clear to him. First, that God must come to him with supernatural gifts before he can even begin to move out to God. And, next, that God must continue to feed and support him from without, if he is to continue that movement towards God. In other words, Baptism and Holy Communion are sacraments which represent vital facts in the mystical history of every soul.

They mean that no soul can achieve its full destiny simply by developing its own interior resources; that theories of evolution and emergence only tell half the truth. For man is an amphibious creature; he stands on the borderland between the natural and supernatural worlds, and his achievement of the supernatural world is not just the crown of natural life, it is distinct—a new stage of Reality. The sacraments register and emphasize this difference in kind of Creator and creature; the littleness and dependence of man, the transcendence yet outflowing generosity of God. We, immersed in a world of change, need the persistent appropriation of Eternal Life, of the Changeless; and because we are thus subject, we need it given to us under the accidents of that world of change, and in close union with the facts of incarnational religion. Just because God *is* wholly other than

The Context of the Eucharist

ourselves, such crumbs of his life and glory as we are able to bear must come to us chiefly through history, through human nature, and through things. The mystics, because they realize more than others a little of what is meant by "Eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard," realize, too, that we must be content to draw near by the humble pathways of sense: "Him verily seeing, hearing, touching, tasting," as Julian of Norwich says.

In most men, the intuition of God's presence within the soul never reaches the conscious level at all. Even in the greatest mystics, it only does so from time to time; and were we left dependent on a means of knowledge so cut off from our ordinary ways of intercourse with reality, our religious experience would always be vague, subjective, uncertain of itself—dependent, not on God but on our own moods. But every Christian can have, though, of course, in very varying degrees, *some* kind of sacramental experience of God. Here the Infinite One, who is the object of mystical experience, is self-given to his little creatures, on the human level and in human ways, to meet our specifically human needs. His love and action need thus to be self-presented in ways closely related to our sense-life, through and in our earthly environment, if they are to be quite certain of being assimilated by our sense-conditioned minds.

As, if we want to feed a living and growing plant, we must feed it through the soil in which it is growing and not root it up and shake it free of soil till it is "pure plant"—so it is dangerous and, indeed, impossible to shake the living soul free of all its bodily and physical attachments, and try to treat it as "pure" spirit. Our souls and our senses are closely allied, and the God who is the God of our most apparently spiritual experience is also the God of our sensory experiences. "What do I love when I love thee?" said St. Augustine. "I love a certain light, melody, fragrance, savour of the inner man!" Thus we are reminded that even the greatest mystic still has his feet on this planet, and is still, even in his most spiritual moments, using a brain which has been developed through contact with the physical world, and which understands the messages of the senses best. Therefore,

Sacraments and Mysticism

an arrogant refusal to recognize that God does come to us through things perceptible to the senses—*here* and not in some hypothetical “spiritual world” only known in some abnormal state of consciousness—is bad mysticism and bad religion too. Just as bad as the opposite extreme, which distrusts all secret, inarticulate communion of spirit with Spirit—all invisible religion—and tries to limit God by his sacraments. Either of these exaggerations spoils the depth and splendour of the spiritual life. Indeed, in religion, all which tempts us to say “this *or* that” instead of “this *and* that” is dangerous, and sins against the rich and generous freedom of the New Testament, so full of the homely *and* the transcendental, the mystical *and* the sacramental, so genial in its acceptance and care for the body as well as the soul.

There is room for all possible degrees of contemplation, and also of all possible uses of the channels of sense and of the outward sign, in the myriad responses of man's spirit to the incitements and invitations of God. The New Testament assures us that for those who composed and lived by its documents, the Kingdom of God is indeed within us; and there is no place where God is not. Yet, none the less, that man needs the distinct revelation of that same God in human ways, and the perpetual self-giving of that supernatural life—the Living Water, the Vine, the Bread from Heaven giving life to the world—the Eternal entering with its gifts the limited life of our half-animal race. It is the most mystical of the Evangelists who feels this most strongly; and it is St. Paul, for whom the “mystery hid from ages and now made manifest” is the purely mystical secret of the Indwelling Christ, who yet sets going the developed Eucharistic doctrine of the Church.

Genuine mysticism, which is simply spiritual realism, is ever stretching towards the one Beloved Reality, who is self-given in all these ways; transcending yet embracing and harmonizing *all* these diverse experiences of the soul. For it, sacramental religion opens a door through which the Infinite comes with its gifts right down into the common life. It cannot scornfully reject the outward means, however crude and simple; because for it there is no outward means

The Context of the Eucharist

which does not carry at least some inward grace, and it sees in the great sacraments of Catholicism the fullest development of a principle which it finds at work everywhere through life. The nearer the mystic in the prayer of union draws to the Living God, who despises nothing that he has made, so the nearer he draws to such an experience of the world as shall find everywhere his graded manifestations. St. Francis is, of course, the classic pattern of such a mysticism as this; able to recognize, welcome, and adore the coming of God to the soul along the most humble and most homely paths.

“My God and all!” said St. Francis. “What art thou? and what am I?” Perhaps the answer of the mystic to that stupendous question might be something like this: “Thou art the One Eternal and Transcendent Reality. I, a little fluctuating, half-animal creature, passing my short life upon a tiny planet, imprisoned in time and place—knowing only such fragments of thy great universe as are shown me along the channels of sense. Herein is the miracle of love; that here, on this narrow stage, and along those very paths of sense through which I know and maintain my place in the natural world, thou, the Infinite, hast sought me, the finite, and satisfied the deepest craving of my soul by the gift of thy Supernatural Life.”



The Eucharist and Revelation

The Eucharist in the New Testament

By EDWYN HOSKYNs

HE Catholic Religion is the revelation of the power and the wisdom and the love of God in a living organism of flesh and blood. This concretion of the mercy of God is the divine negation of a dreamy idealism on the one hand and of pure materialism on the other hand. From the heart of Catholicism there emerges, therefore, quite consistently and naturally, a rite in which human language and action, and the material objects of bread and wine, become vehicles of the revelation of Truth and means of Salvation.

The Catholic Christian rightly asks how the Catholic Religion is related to the religion of the New Testament, and in particular how its worship is related to the worship of the Apostolic Church and to the teaching of our Lord.

Since liturgical worship is the result of a long process of adjustment in order to secure a more and more adequate proclamation of the Gospel, it is obvious that we should not expect to find in the Apostolic age a fully developed Liturgy. If, however, Catholic worship be a legitimate development of Apostolic Christianity, we ought to find the Gospel to be identical in both, and we ought to be able to discover in the earliest Christian writings signs of an adjustment of worship so that the Gospel may be thereby expressed in concrete form.

The Eucharist and Revelation

If, on the other hand, Catholicism be an illegitimate development, its illegitimacy will be made apparent by the impossibility of discovering this identity of Gospel or of tracing any signs of this adjustment.

St. John declares the whole activity of the Christian Church to be the manifestation of the Incarnate and Crucified Son of God for the salvation of the world. Consequently, he defines Christian worship as eating the Flesh of the Son of Man and drinking his Blood. He is acutely conscious that this language is capable of a purely materialistic interpretation. The Jews roundly declare it to be blasphemous anthropophagy,* and all but the true disciples are shocked and leave the Church because of this language.† But St. John refuses to ease the language. In repeating the saying he retains the word "flesh," and substitutes a more crudely material word meaning "munch" for the word "eat."‡ He is therefore referring to a rite in which physical eating is integral, and he is not prepared to compromise the fact. Then he provides the interpretation and shows that the significance of the Eucharist rests upon the Incarnation. Flesh, blood, bread, wine, water are in themselves nothing; only the Word or the Spirit can make them life-giving.§ As the Son of God, the Word, made material flesh and blood means of salvation, and as his concrete utterances transformed men and women, blind and dead in sin, so bread and wine are in the Christian rite consecrated to be the Bread of Life and the Cup of Salvation.

But the Eucharist rests not only upon the Incarnation but supremely upon the death of the Son of God, made to be the sacrifice for sin: *The bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world.* Divorce the Eucharist from the sacrificial death of the Son of God and from his life-giving word, and it becomes pure materialism; think of Jesus as anything but the Word or the Son of God Incarnate, and the Eucharist becomes pure anthropophagy; think of the Eucharist as anything but salvation from sin through the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, and it becomes blasphemy. This is St. John's teaching.

* John vi, 52.

† John vi, 53-56.

‡ John vi, 66-69.

§ John vi, 63.

In the New Testament

Quite consistently St. John records the Last Supper as the occasion when the original disciples of the Lord were initiated into the truth, and heard the Lord's solemn and formal dedication of himself as the Sacrifice: *For their sakes I consecrate myself, in order that they themselves also may be consecrated in truth.** St. John omits the words of institution, partly because they were well known, but partly because he wishes to bring out by paraphrase what is for him their significance. The Eucharist is the consecration of the sacrifice immolated on the cross. It is in no sense and in no degree an independent rite. In the great Christian rite, therefore, each convert is transported to the upper room and is initiated into the significance of Christ's death, and, with St. John and the Blessed Virgin, he stands beneath the Cross, and appropriates the benefits of the sacrifice on Calvary. *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.*† The language of St. John is not, as many maintain, an adjustment of the Gospel to Hellenistic sacramental mania; it is precisely the opposite, it is the completion of the first stage of adjusting Christian worship to the Gospel. Throughout his Gospel, St. John is pointing out that the hostility of the Jews and semi-gnostic Christians to Christian language is, in fact, a denial of the Gospel that Jesus is the Son of God and had manifested himself in flesh and blood, and that his words, including his teaching concerning the Eucharistic bread and wine, are spirit and truth.

An illustration of the same process of adjustment at an earlier date is provided by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. In the Corinthian Church the Eucharist had degenerated either into a common meal at which immorality and lack of charity tended to appear, or into a semi-mystical communion with an unseen Lord. In order to safeguard the rite from such abuse, St. Paul points out that the Eucharist is linked indissolubly with the sacrificial death of Christ. The cup is communion of the Blood of Christ, and the broken

* John xvii, 19.

† John vi, 53, 54.

The Eucharist and Revelation

bread is communion of the Body of Christ. Since Christian fellowship and righteousness emerge only through appropriation of the benefits of Christ's death, and since the Eucharist is the proclamation of Christ's death, till he come, the coming together for such worship must be for the good and not for the worse. In order to enforce this intimate connection between the sacrifice of Christ and the Eucharist, St. Paul claims to have heard, by revelation as an Apostle, the words of the Lord addressed to his disciples in the night before he died, by which he made his death to be the sacrifice offered for their salvation, and initiated them into the benefits of that sacrifice. St. Paul thus claims for the adjustment of Christian worship to the Gospel, not only the authority of the Apostles, in so far as they remembered the Lord's words and actions on that night and perceived their significance, but also the direct authority of the Lord himself.

Here, again, the issue which St. Paul raises is not primarily the nature of the Eucharist, but the nature of Christian salvation. He is not vaguely moralizing a piety peculiar to the mystery-religions; he is insisting that the death of Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and that righteousness and charity must be the marks of those who share in Christian worship, which is the proclamation of Christ's death, till he come.

Two difficult questions now arise. How is this Johannine-Pauline adjustment of Christian worship to the Gospel related to our Lord's words and actions at the Last Supper? And how is it related to the worship of the primitive Church in Jerusalem? Since St. Luke's account of the Last Supper seems, as it stands, to be in part influenced by the Eucharistic passage in 1 Corinthians, and since St. Matthew's narrative depends upon St. Mark, the answer to the first question, if it can be answered, rests upon the exegesis of St. Mark's record. The whole narrative is eschatological in form and structure. Solemnly, in the presence of his disciples, and of no others, our Lord consecrates his death to be the sacrifice which was to inaugurate the Covenant which is to supersede and fulfil the old. He makes his Body and Blood to be for them, for the disciples there present, the Sacrifice, as St. Matthew no doubt rightly interprets, *for the remission of sins*. Most

In the New Testament

significantly our Lord adds that this sacrifice will be effective for many. Through eating the bread which was his Body, and drinking the wine which was his Blood, the disciples were by anticipation incorporated in the new eschatological order, and made participators in the benefits of his sacrifice. As it stands, St. Mark's narrative is not the institution of a rite, nor is it a general statement that our Lord's death is a sacrifice for the salvation of the world, still less is it merely a farewell meal. It is the record of the initiation of the disciples into the benefits of the sacrifice about to be made on Calvary, and the revelation to them of its significance.

Whether our Lord did or did not add words which suggested that a long period was to elapse between his death and the final coming of the Kingdom, and whether he therefore added any specific direction that his words and actions should be understood as instituting a rite, is an interesting historical and literary problem, but it is ultimately irrelevant. The point is that our Lord, according to St. Mark, did in the night before he died make his death to be for his disciples the Sacrifice through which the Covenant of God, foretold in the Old Testament, was to be realized, and that the disciples were initiated into the benefits of that sacrifice through eating and drinking bread and wine, which he named his Body and Blood. Consequently, when his words and actions were recalled and their significance perceived, and so long as the final Kingdom did not appear, all who desire righteousness and forgiveness of sins must inevitably seek them through a like initiation and through a like declaration of the significance of his death.

The existing evidence provides no definite conclusion as to the nature of the pre-Pauline Apostolic worship in Jerusalem. St. Luke says that the Apostles and their converts met to "break bread," but he nowhere tells us exactly what he meant by that phrase. He presumes that his readers will understand the allusion. It is possible that in the earliest days the significance of our Lord's references to his death remained obscure, and that the common meal was an act of fellowship not directly connected with our Lord's death, and that, consequently, St. Paul was a more important figure in the development of Christian worship than has usually been allowed. On

The Eucharist and Revelation

the other hand, St. Luke's omission of all the Markan incidents between the feeding of the five thousand and the confession of St. Peter suggests that he regards "the breaking of bread" as directly productive of Christian faith, and his description of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, to whom our Lord declared the necessity of his death, and to whom he made himself known in the "breaking of the bread," points in a similar direction. It appears, therefore, that for St. Luke as for St. John, the Eucharist was creatively effective, and that they both found in the conjunction of the feeding of the five thousand with St. Peter's confession of faith, the appropriate prototype of that experience peculiarly associated with the Eucharist.* Whatever conclusion we may tentatively accept as to the significance of St. Luke's language, it seems abundantly clear that the line St. Paul—St. John—Catholic worship is one line, and that it finds its adequate explanation and origin only in our Lord's death and in his words and actions at the Last Supper taken together as forming one sacrificial act.

If this be in any way a safe conclusion, it follows that our controversy with the Bishop of Birmingham, and with those whom he represents, does not concern primarily the Eucharist, but the Gospel. In the controversy it appears that we are being attacked in the interests of a sincere piety, which is, however, emotionally and morally, foreign to the New Testament. For such piety not only is the Eucharist sacrilege, but the Christian statement that salvation is by the Blood of Jesus, is also exceedingly misleading and dangerous. In this particular controversy it must in any case be stated, and stated quite clearly, that we Catholics have the New Testament wholly on our side.

* Cf. Luke ix, 12-27 with John vi, 1-15, 68, 69.

The Idea of Sacrifice Outside Christianity



Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

By E. O. JAMES



WHEN the spirit of historical inquiry pervaded the study of religion during the latter part of the last century, it became apparent that the institution of sacrifice represents an almost universal feature of religious development in all stages of culture. Hitherto the rite had generally been interpreted in relation to the sacrificial system of the Old

Testament, but actually this is only one example of the rite as it was practised in antiquity. To get a true perspective of the Hebrew and Christian ritual, it is therefore necessary to view it in the light of the institution as a whole. Thus, in the time allotted to me in this paper, I propose to deal very briefly with the principal aspects of sacrificial ritual outside Palestine, in the hope that thereby a clearer insight may be gained into the great subject to which this Congress is devoted. If to-day I adopt a somewhat different attitude towards the problem from that which I maintained in the article on "Sacrifice," standing to my name in "The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," it is because, in the ten years that have elapsed, a great deal of new material has come to light, making a revision of some of the working principles necessary to bring them into line with our fuller knowledge.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

It is now clear, I think, that Robertson Smith was not correct when he concluded that in the earliest times sacrifices were really rites of communion rather than gifts to the Deity.* This notion he based on the practice of totemism—the belief that an intimate relationship exists between a group of kindred people on the one side, and a species of animal or plant or some inanimate object on the other side. But was this the earliest constitution of human society? We know that in the old Stone Age the first representatives of modern man—the Aurignacians and Magdalenians, as they are called—resorted to the innermost recesses of the limestone caves around Les Eyzies in the Dordogne, and in the Pyrenees, for the purpose of painting and engraving figures of certain animals such as the bison, mammoth, and reindeer, often in the most inaccessible spots. These undoubtedly were prehistoric sanctuaries in which magical rites were performed to control the chase. Since the primitive mind does not distinguish between a picture and the object represented, a spell, it is supposed, can be cast upon an animal by drawing a design of it and marking it with arrows in the vital spot.

In the great struggle for food in which early man was engaged, it must have become apparent that loss of blood caused faintness, unconsciousness, and ultimately death in man and beast alike. It would therefore be an easy deduction from this observation that blood was in some mysterious way the essence of life, and, by the primitive law of associations, any substance that resembled blood, like red ochre, would be regarded as having a similar significance and potency. This explains the custom of burying the dead in red-stained earth and covering the body with ochreous powder, as in the case of the Aurignacian ceremonial interments found in a cave called Paviland, in South Wales, and in the Grotte du Cavillon, near Mentone.† If blood or its equivalent was the vehicle of life and consciousness, its restoration to a dead body could but have the effect of revivifying it so that it might awake in the hereafter with

* "The Religion of the Semites" (London, 1907), pp. 226 ff.

† Sollas, *Journal Royal Anthropol. Institute*, XLIII., 1913, pp. 325 ff.; Obermaier, "Fossil Man in Spain" (New Haven and London, 1925), pp. 132 ff.

Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

renewed strength. Similarly, sacred designs were painted in red to give them a greater potency in hunting magic, the heart being frequently depicted as the centre of vitality, near which arrows sometimes were painted in red.*

In these Palæolithic cave paintings and interments we have the earliest example at present known of the fundamental conception of the institution of sacrifice—viz., the belief that blood is the vitalising essence charged with life-giving power. For just as it was efficacious in restoring life to the dead, so it was thought to have similar power with regard to the gods. As Sir James Frazer has shown, primitive people have been inclined to look upon gods and human beings as belonging to much the same order, the king himself frequently being thought of as attaining to Godhead even in his lifetime as well as after death.† Thus in Ancient Egypt, for instance, Osiris probably was originally a civilising king who in process of time became deified,‡ and from the Fifth Dynasty the Pharaoh was regarded as the physical son of the Sun-god, Re.§ Both Osiris and Re were therefore connected with the kingship, the one being probably the deified ancestral king, the other the progenitor of the reigning house. So complete, in fact, was this identification of the king with the gods that in the later texts he is unhesitatingly called Osiris and Re in the same passage.

But if kings were regarded as divine, gods who began life as chiefs and heroes were also mortals raised to divine rank but still subject to human limitations. They grew old and died. Consequently in Egypt they share with man the inestimable benefit of undergoing mummification and reanimation. Every province had a mummy of its dead god, that of Osiris resting at Mendes, and of Toumon at Heliopolis. || Like-

* "L'Anthropologie," XIX., p. 15.

† "Golden Bough," third edition, Part I.; "Magic Art" (London, 1917), pp. 372 ff.

‡ *Op. cit.*, Part IV. ("Adonis," II.), p. 198; Elliot Smith, "Evolution of Dragon" (Manchester, 1919), pp. 29 ff.

§ Breasted, "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt" (London, 1912), p. 15.

|| A. Moret, "Le Rituel du Culte divin journalier in Egypte" (Paris, 1912), pp. 219 ff.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

wise in Greece, the grave of Zeus was shown to visitors in Crete as late as the beginning of the Christian era,* while the body of Dionysus was buried at Delphi beside the golden statue of Apollo, and his tomb bore the inscription, "Here lies Dionysus dead, the son of Semele."† Cronus was interred in Sicily, Hermes in Hermopolis, Aphrodite in Cyprus, and Ares in Thrace.‡

Now all this was really very serious, because the world depended on the gods, notably the Sun, for the continuance of life upon it. Thus in Mexico the Sun was regarded as the source of all vitality and, therefore, it was called "He by whom men live." But he also required nourishment from the earth, Tezcatlipoca, the god *par excellence* of the Nahuan pantheon, alone being credited with "perpetual juvenility by the conditions of his nature."§ It was this belief that lay at the root of the ghastly system of human sacrifice, which constituted the characteristic feature of the cult of Central America. The heart, as the centre and symbol of life, was extracted from the body of the victim and presented to the Sun to enable him to continue his daily course across the sky, while in March a great ceremony was held directed to Itzamma, the god of life and fire, and to the rain-gods (*chac*), during which a large fire was made and animals of every kind were killed in this manner. The hearts were then cast into the flames, together with models in copal of the hearts of larger animals, such as jaguars, pumas, which were not so easily captured.|| In this way the vitality of the god was renewed, and his beneficent offices continued in causing the life-giving waters to descend upon the earth.

The ancient Peruvians in South America offered llamas before the statue of Thunder and Lightning with the words,

* Callimachus, "Hymn to Zeus," pp. 9 f.

† Plutarch, "Isis et Osiris," p. 35.

‡ "Golden Bough," Part IV., "Dying God" (1914), p. 4.

§ E. J. Payne, "History of New World called America" (Oxford, 1892), I., p. 429. Cf. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Histoire des nations civilisées" (Paris, 1857), III.

|| Prescott, "History of Conquest of Mexico" (London, 1843), I., pp. 65 ff.; Bancroft, "Native Races" (London, 1875), II., pp. 740 f.; Joyce, "Mexican Archaeology" (London, 1914), p. 68.

Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

"O Creator, Sun, Thunder, and Lightning, may you ever remain young, may you never grow old."* It was hoped in this way to secure a plentiful supply of the fertilising rays of the sun, and rain as the result of thunderstorms. The power of the Sun-god to send warmth and fertility appears to have depended on the sacrificial sustenance he received "to give him strength always to do so."† It was probably from this conception of a sacrificial offering of nourishment to the gods to strengthen and reanimate them, that the sacramental idea arose. If man gave vitality to the gods, might he not expect to be similarly nourished and strengthened by the divinity? Thus a sacramental element often occurred in sacrificial rites, as, for example, in the well-known Aztec practice of eating at their May festival, images of the god Huitzilopochtli made of dough as the body of the divinity. On occasions the dough was fortified with the blood of a youth selected to impersonate the deity Tezcatlipoca, and then slain on the altar as the god himself.‡ The sacramental eating of human victims offered to the gods was a general custom in Central America and Peru,§ and it was also prevalent in Africa|| and Vedic India.¶ When, with the progress of culture, animals were substituted for human beings, the solemn meal on their flesh usually had a sacramental significance, especially if the animal happened to be itself sacred or divine, as in the case of a totem. It was at this stage in the development of the rite that totem sacraments appear, and not at the beginning, as Robertson Smith supposed.

Originally sacrifice, as it seems to me, was the food of the gods to augment their power and life, the sacramental aspect growing up later as a result of the worshippers eating the

* C. de Molina, "Relacion de las fabulas e ritos de los Incas" (Lima, 1916), p. 27.

† Cobo, "Historia del nuevo mundo" (Sevilla, 1895), IV., p. 81.

‡ Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Hist. des nat. civil.," III., pp. 510 ff., 531 ff.

§ Sahagun, "Hist. général des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne" (Paris, 1880), pp. 75 ff., 116; J. Ranking, "History Researches on Conquest of Peru and Mexico" (London, 1827), p. 89.

|| C. Partridge, "Cross River Natives" (London, 1905), p. 59.

¶ A. Weber, "Indische Streifen" (Berlin, 1868-79), I., pp. 72 f.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

remains of an offering after the blood had been poured out for the nourishment of the divinity. The belief that the special qualities of a man or beast could be assimilated by contact with his person or any objects intimately connected with him, is very widespread among primitive people, and may well go back to Palæolithic times. To the same category of ideas at a later stage in religious development belongs the notion of getting life and power by eating the flesh and drinking the blood of a sacrificial victim or partaking of the first-fruits of the new crops. Food was the vehicle of supernatural properties, and, consequently, the recipient of the food of the gods would derive therefrom divine life and qualities. Thus in the sacrificial ritual of the higher religions of antiquity, the priests and worshippers feasted on the remains of the victim, and the meal came to be regarded as a means of getting divine nutriment.* How far anything which can be fairly called sacrificial communion, obtained in the Mystery religions which arose on the shores of the Ægean and prevailed for several centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era, has already been discussed in a former paper. This, happily, relieves me of an excursus on this obscure and highly controversial question.

It now only remains to consider a third aspect of sacrificial ritual. The belief that the gods had a mortal nature similar to man, led to attributing to them other human qualities and feelings, such as like and dislike, love and aversion, friendship and hostility. Thus calamities that could not be traced to natural sources were regarded as due to divine agency, and gradually the custom arose of offering sacrifice—the so-called *piacular*—to propitiate the gods when they were angry and malevolent. This practice has probably been over-emphasized by Dr. Westermarck† and some other scholars, as the underlying notion of sin and forgiveness is of comparatively late

* II. I., 457 ff.; G. Wissowa, "Religion und Kulture der Römer" (Munich, 1902), pp. 353 f.; H. Oldenberg, "La Religion du Vêda," trans. V. Henry (Paris, 1903), p. 279; M. Monier-Williams, "Brahmanism and Hinduism" (London, 1891), p. 145.

† "Origin and Development of Moral Ideas" (London, 1906), I., pp. 471 f., 437.

Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

development. No trace of piacular expiation, for instance, occurs at all in Egyptian ritual, and the *kippurin*-rite (burnt-offering) was due to Semitic influence in the Nile Valley.

In Greek religion, sin was *μίασμα*—defilement in a non-moral sense—which separated man from the gods till expiation was made by the prescribed purificatory rites. Failure of crops, plagues and diseases, and other calamities were attributed to the anger of the gods; but while the notion of propitiation undoubtedly was present in the Olympian worship, it was the furies and spirits of the dead rather than the Olympian deities who were appeased.* In the Homeric poems no word for “atonement” occurs, nor are propitiatory rites mentioned as such. It was apparently just this absence of any tangible means of allaying the anger of the gods that the Dionysiac and the more organized Orphic mystery cult met by supplying a ritual of purification. Whether this ever gained a moral content it is difficult to say, but although ritual purity may have assumed an ethical character in the Eleusinia, most of the rites of purification had nothing to do with morality. It is true the Eleusinian ritual required the offering of a young pig after the novice had bathed in the sea,† and mention is made in an inscription of Andania in Messinia of the sacrifice of numerous animals.‡ But these seem to have been connected with initiation and purification like the taurobolium.

It was notably in Babylonia that the more definite conceptions of sin and contrition developed at an early period. Although no formal treatise on the subject has come down to us from the Sumerians, the cuneiform literature reveals that sin was at first regarded in terms of ritual impurity which could be removed by materialistic means such as washing with pure water, or by herbs or aromatic woods. A faint echo of this may be heard perhaps in the words of the Hebrew Psalmist: “Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean; wash

* Xen. “Anab.,” VII., VIII., 4; Paus. II., XXIV., 1; Xen. “Hell.,” IV., II., p. 20; Paus. IX., VIII., p. 1.

† Aristoph., “Frogs,” p. 338.

‡ Sauppe, “Die Mysterieninschrift von Andania” (Göttingen, 1860), pp. 261-307. Cf. C. Michel, “Recueil d’inscriptions Grecques” (Brussels, 1897), IV., No. 694, pp. 596 ff.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

me, and I shall be whiter than snow." Conversely, the following extract from a Sumerian bilingual penitential psalm might suggest that the ethical conception of sin was realized by the earliest inhabitants of the Euphrates Valley:

"Oh, Lord, my wrongdoings are many, great are my sins——

Turn thou into good the sin which I have done.

May the wind carry away the error which I have committed!

Strip off my many evil deeds as a garment!

My god, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!

My goddess, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!"*

Yet actually there was no real sense of sin as an ethical concept, for the transgressions here bewailed were not moral faults, but ritual errors and neglect of things of which the worshipper may or may not be aware. "I know not the sin which I have done; I know not the error which I have committed,"† cried the Sumerian penitent. It was not until a very much later period that a long list of sins, mostly of an ethical character, was recited in the expiation rituals in which it was declared: "My heart is distressed and my soul faileth. I cry unto thee, O Lord, in the pure heavens. Faithfully look upon me, hear my supplication."‡ But in this highest development of Babylonian religion it sufficed for the sinner to appeal to the various gods to intercede for him with the god, whose anger he desired to appease without the former sacrificial offering of water, bread, grain, and animals.

From the conception of sacrifice as a gift to reanimate the gods, the transition is not difficult to the inward ethical surrender of the soul in contrition. The worshipper offers of his best—the life of his flocks and herds or the firstfruits of his

* Zimmern, "Babylonische Busspsalmen" (Leipzig, 1885), IV., pp. 100-106.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-21, 42-45.

‡ Zimmern, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion" (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 23, 58 ff.; L. W. King, "Babylonian Magic and Sorcery" (London, 1896), No. 6, 60-62.

Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

crops—and in consequence he is materially the poorer. When the Deity was no longer thought to require nourishment, the blood of animals and other vitalizing substances were in a sense superfluous. Nevertheless, alongside of the more ethical offering of the broken spirit and contrite heart, the custom of giving outward ritual sacrificial gifts continued among practically all the higher religions of antiquity. Even when the practice ceased for a while, as in Zoroastrianism, and possibly officially in pre-exilic Israel, because it conflicted with the ethical character of the prophet's reforms,* it was soon revived and systematized.

It is often maintained to-day, however, that sacrificial worship really has no legitimate place in an ethical religion, belonging as it does to a lower stratum of cult practice. Rationally and ethically, God desires righteousness and loving-kindness from his creatures, and not the flesh of bulls and the blood of goats. But whatever may have been the message the great reformers in Israel were inspired to deliver in the eighth century B.C., it has been the universal experience of mankind in all ages that ethical monotheism satisfies only a small minority possessed of a special kind of religious temperament. For the majority in every community something more intimate and concrete is necessary to hold their allegiance. Even among so enlightened a people as the Greeks, philosophical monotheism proved to be too rigid, metaphysical and remote for the religious needs and sentiments of the people, who found in the mystery cults and the worship of the lesser deities the satisfaction of their psychological requirements.

Man is so constituted that his spiritual nature is restless until it finds rest in a god with whom personal relationships may be established. The average person is unmoved by the philosophical notion of an "Unmoved Mover" behind the universe, however lofty and ethical the concept may be, and however distinguished is the company of its adherents, from Plato to Bosanquet, and Bradley and Dean Inge. Even solar monotheism, which arose in Egypt in the days of Tutankhamen, only triumphed for a few years, while the exultation of

* J. H. Moulton, "Early Zoroastrianism" (London, 1913), p. 395, n. 1.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

Marduk, the city god of Babylon and the personification of the sun, as head of the pantheon in the third millennium B.C. was equally short-lived. Among people in a primitive state of culture, like the aborigines of Australia, the ethical and remote tribal All-Father tends to degenerate into a bull-roarer or bogey to frighten the women* and children, because, being himself immortal, he has no need of revivifying sacrifices, and in consequence he plays no part in tribal affairs.

But, alas! it is unnecessary to go to the ends of the earth or search antiquity for examples of this process, since in our own land we have suffered the Deity to degenerate in the eyes of the people into the "One Above," while to the sophisticated he is often, apparently, little more than a complicated constellation of positive and negative electrons. Yet the unique achievement, first in Israel and later and more completely in Christianity, was the rescuing of the Supreme Being from isolation without sacrificing his universal sovereignty and exclusive claims to Godhead. As the elaborate system of post-exilic sacrificial worship and ceremonial observance in the central sanctuary at Jerusalem was fulfilled and re-evaluated in the Self-revelation of the Eternal Son, ethical ideals and objective worship found their proper place and true relationships. In the perfect offering on Calvary on Good Friday the sacrificial principle found its highest expression, just as on Christmas Day sacramental Self-giving reached its climax. Having emptied himself and made himself of no account in order to enter into the experience of human life, our Lord offered himself in complete surrender and obedience to the Will of the Father, pouring out sacrificially before God his life-giving Blood of the New Covenant. Here the inward ethical surrender of the will was perfectly combined with the ritual offering of the life of the Victim, who is none other than the Lamb of God. But sacrifice does not mean the death of the victim only; it has to be continued and completed by the offering of the life, for it is this which gives significance to the rite. It is, in fact, this offering which is essentially the priestly action. The death of Jesus on the Cross has been once and for

* Spencer and Gillen, "Northern Tribes of Central Australia" (London, 1904), p. 338.

Pre-Christian Sacrifice (Gentile)

all, but the offering of it to the Father is a continuing action which is accomplished in the Mass. But here my task ends, and I must bring this rapid survey of a very big subject to a close lest I intrude upon territory of other papers.

Through an avenue of many altars, with their tragic and sometimes barbarous rites, our Priest-Victim came. In him on Cross and Corporal, all those broken rays of sacrificial ritual meet in light. From crude conceptions of the reanimation of mortal gods we pass at length to the offering of the Perfect Life laid down in voluntary self-surrender. By the gift of his sacred Body with all its attributes and virtues, the perfected sinless Human Nature was made accessible to sin-stained humanity; and through his Precious Blood incorporation became possible into the quickening Risen Life, permeating the ever Self-extending Organism of the Incarnate. To drink the blood of the Covenant was unthinkable to a Jew at the time when these momentous words were first spoken on Maundy Thursday, yet it was nothing less than this that the disciples were invited to drink. But however difficult the acceptance of this invitation may have been to the original hearers, the selection of this particular formula places the Eucharist in the very centre of the institution of sacrifice. The blood is the life, and to partake of it sacrificially is to assimilate the life-principle. Thus before the Lamb of God gave his Life on the altar of the Cross, he imparted his broken Body and poured out Blood to his disciples, and through them to us by Divine command and prophetic anticipation. By his Self-identification with sin he made atonement, slaying sin in his own Body on the tree, and so "passed through the veil" that separated man from God. Viewed thus, we see in Calvary the climax and perfection of the sacrificial principle all over the world and all down the ages; and to place Calvary in its rightful place in the history of religion is to realize that "we have an altar" and a Holy Sacrifice.

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

❧ II ❧

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

By H. L. GOUDGE

HE story of Old Testament sacrifice is the story of a long ascent. It had its origin from heathen grossness, as St. Chrysostom says, but it rose high at last; and it is in the contrast between the beginning and the end that we see the reality of the divine teaching. Ever God stoops to conquer us; he takes us as we are that he may make us what he would have us be; and the Bible is the record of what he has borne with, as well as the record of what he has done.

Now this story of sacrifice is full, not only of interest, but of warning: for its story in the Old Testament strangely anticipates its story in the Christian Church. There is much from the first which is of abiding value. Most right it is that we should desire to give to God as well as to receive from him: most right also that we should desire the closest communion with him. But we see both into Israel and into the Church the world entering like a flood and deeply corrupting the use of sacrifice. Then comes the reaction of the God-enlightened mind and conscience, and sacrifice seems on the verge of being repudiated altogether. This is, however, only for the time; the true line of progress lies, not in its abolition, but in its reformation. Both in Israel and in the Church sacrifice abides. But the reaction has not been in vain; the dross has been largely purged away, while the gold remains. As Hegel would put it, there is thesis first, and then antithesis, and finally synthesis; and we may thank God for all three.

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

My subject is Sacrifice in the Old Testament, and I must not wander far afield. But I will so tell the story as to suggest the parallel; and, at the close, point out the lesson for ourselves.

I

But, before I turn to the story, there are two things which it may be well to say.

First, I shall assume those results of Old Testament criticism which are almost universally accepted by modern scholars. I shall, *e.g.*, assume that the developed system of sacrifice which we find in Leviticus is the system of the second temple, and not that presupposed in the early historical books. The reason why Samuel and David and Elijah, when they sacrifice, pay no attention to the Levitical code is that it does not yet exist; and, when the great prophets attack the sacrifice of their day, it is not the later system which they are attacking.

Secondly, I would point out that, if we ask what the ceremonial of sacrifice was understood to mean, we must not expect a very definite answer. The ceremonial is fixed and traditional, but the meaning is fluid and progressive. The law of sacrifice says "This do," not "This think"; and the path of progress lies, not only in the abolition of what is meaningless or degrading, but in putting a better meaning upon what is retained. The same ceremonial may be differently understood in one age and in another, and even in the same age by the more carnal mind and by the more spiritual. If we may not interpret differently there can be no common worship. Our Lord himself said "This do," not "This think"; and still to-day, if we do what he commanded in remembrance of him, we may together claim his blessing, though we may not all see eye to eye.

Now consider such sacrificial action as the offering of the blood. What that originally meant Dr. James has told us. The gods, like ourselves, faint and grow weary; if "the twilight of the gods" is not to fall, they must be invigorated with food, and above all with blood, in which is the essence of life. Did the people of Yahweh, or Jehovah, ever so

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

conceive of sacrifice? Undoubtedly. Yahweh smells the sweet savour of the sacrifice of Noah; flesh, meal, wine and broth are offered to him as well as blood; in the Old Testament "the Lord's table" does not mean the table from which God feeds man, but that from which man feeds God. But that is only the beginning; and, though the old ceremonial lives, the old interpretation dies. God speaks better things to the heart and conscience of his people: "Thinkest thou that I will eat bulls' flesh and drink the blood of goats?" And, when his people have learnt their lesson, they put a new meaning upon what they do. The blood, in which is the life, is for Yahweh alone, because life is sacred to him who alone can bestow it. Nay, more. The life of the offerer himself may be symbolized by the life of the poor beast who has been like one of his family, and so the offering of the blood comes to mean:

"Take my life, and let it be
Consecrated, Lord, to thee."

Nor is even this all. If the soul, or life, of the poor beast may be given for another's weal, may not the same be true of the life of a nation, or of some chosen servant of God; and the blood thus poured out "cleanse the conscience from dead works to serve the living God"? If sacrifice become self-sacrifice, who may set a limit to its power? So we climb slowly from the gods whom we must feed, if they are to be strong to help us, to the God who desires not ours but us; the God who, *patiens quia aeternus*, accepts at first the offering of victims slain, that we may learn at last to give in Christ and through Christ the living sacrifice of ourselves, holy and acceptable, which he truly requires.

“”

II

We will consider sacrifice first as we find it before the rise of the great prophets of Israel. It takes two main forms. First, there are burnt-offerings, wholly consumed upon the altar; and these, though always gifts from man to God, are not always bestowed with the same purpose. They may, or

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

may not, have attached to them the thought of expiation for sin. Secondly, there are peace-offerings, and the main purpose of these is the Communion-feast. There God receives his portion, and that the best; but man receives his portion also. It seems to be the better opinion to-day, that gift-sacrifices are the earlier type. But did Moses appoint these sacrifices for Israel? Jeremiah says no. "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto my voice." What Moses was inspired to give was a new revelation of God's character and moral demands; the old sacrificial system of the Semites went on as before. Jeremiah himself was a priest, and he would not have denied that Moses sanctioned sacrifice; what he denies is that Moses instituted it. But of this we may be sure. The sacrificial teaching of Moses, if he gave any, was consistent with the ethical religion which he taught. Sacrifice had its proper place. But, as prophecy declared even in its early days, "Behold! to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."

Is this, however, the outlook which we find when Israel is established in Canaan? It might have been, had Israel conquered the whole land at once and destroyed the Canaanite tribes. But the conquest was slow, and the people of God mingled with the old inhabitants. Soon we find ourselves in the Dark Ages of the Book of Judges, and the Middle Ages of the Books of Samuel and Kings. Strangely similar we find the narrative to that of the mediæval chroniclers, except that it is so far superior as literature. And now what of sacrifice? Israel is no longer a people of the desert, fed by heavenly food, though there are those who, like the Rechabites, love the old desert ways. Israel looks now for its corn and wine and oil to the good land into which it has come; and can Yahweh, who has brought them in, feed and multiply them now that they are there? Not so, say the old inhabitants. It is their native gods, the local Baals, who bestow both the fruit of men's bodies and the fruit of their fields. Israel must offer its burnt-offerings and peace-offerings at the high places, before

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

the sacred obelisks and the sacred poles—yes! and take its part in moral abominations of which we need not think to-day; otherwise there will be no food and no children. But is not this apostasy? Well! that is not quite clear. For it is not a question of gods like Milcom or Chemosh, with names as distinctive as that of Yahweh himself. The word Baal only means lord or owner of the soil, as Melech, afterwards pronounced Molech in insult, only means king; and is not Yahweh himself lord and king? Moreover, there is little that is alien about the sanctuaries of Canaan; it is easy to adopt and to adapt them. The bones of Abraham are resting at Hebron; and, if you go to Bethel, you will see the holy obelisk on which father Jacob laid his head, and which he consecrated with oil to be the house of God. Why not worship at the old sanctuaries, round which the legends of the saints are gathering—Hebron and Bethel, Mizpah and Shechem and Gilgal—and let all go on as before? Call the local Baal Yahweh; or better—make Yahweh the Baal of Canaan. He, then, will give the corn and wine and oil.

Now let us consider this. It is true that what matters is not the name by which we call our God, but our belief in his unity and our understanding of his character. We Christians are not apostates from Israel's God, because we no longer call him Yahweh; while we do call him Lord, and even address him in one of our hymns as God of Bethel. But it is most dangerous to do what Israel did, and the Church both in East and West did a thousand years later, and put the new wine of ethical monotheism into the old bottles of unethic polytheism. The Baals were local Baals, and nothing could change their character. If Yahweh takes their place, Yahweh is no longer one; and the Yahweh of one place may be in fact, though not in theory, the rival of the Yahweh of another. Local cults have always that danger, as the Church has found. But this was not the worst. To identify Yahweh with the Baals was wholly to forget both his character and his claims. Nature gods make no moral demands; our English nature-god, the "One above," makes very few. What the Baals asked was sacrifices, and respect for a certain number of arbitrary taboos. If Baal received thousands of rams, and ten

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

thousands of rivers of oil; if Melech received the fruit of our bodies for the sin of our souls, they were fully satisfied; whether we did justly and loved mercy was none of their business. To identify Yahweh with Baal and Melech was to lead men to think of him as they thought of Baal and Melech. It was to make sacrifice all-important, and morality a bagatelle.

Now, it is this which the great prophets saw, and which caused that reaction against sacrifice which is so startling. Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah all take substantially the same view. "Thus saith Yahweh . . . I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt-offerings and meal-offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts. . . . But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." "I desire loving-kindness, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." But do the prophets reject sacrifice itself, or only the abuses connected with it? That is not easy to say. Perhaps Isaiah, who loved the temple so well, would have been less radical than the herdman of Tekoa. But they draw no fine distinctions. Do let us understand—we Anglo-Catholics especially, when we speak of the Reformers of the sixteenth century—that, when corruption has gone deep and is long-established, what is required is the sledge-hammer of the prophet, and not the delicate instruments of the theologian. The exact thinking, the careful distinctions, of the theologian will be very necessary when the time for synthesis comes; but that time is not yet. The great prophets are concerned with the system as they know it, and with nothing else. "Come to Bethel and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days; and offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of your dough, and proclaim freewill offerings and publish them: for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel." That is what the awakened conscience cannot abide—the substitution of ever-multiplied sacrifices for the performance of our moral obligations, the insult to God's holiness involved in attempting to placate him by offerings for our still-continued refusal to do his will, the notion that

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

sacrifice works like a charm to bring the divine blessing, while we fulfil none of the conditions upon which blessing depends. When these delusions have taken possession of men's minds, there is only one thing to do with sacrifice; and that is for the time to abolish it. That was the course which God for a time took; a people such as Israel had come to be was of no use for his purpose. Northern Israel proved hopeless, and it was swept away. Southern Israel was not hopeless. There the prophets made a real impression, and a real religious reformation took place. Ruthless as Josiah was, we can understand his action. The destruction of the old shrines, and the concentration of worship at Jerusalem did mean a return to one Yahweh, and only one, which could probably have been effected in no other way; and a moral reformation was attempted at the same time. But there was almost immediate relapse, and Jerusalem, too, had at last to fall, and its people to be carried captive to Babylon. There they were in an unclean land, where they could not sacrifice. There those who retained their faith had to come starkly face to face with God and his moral demands.

And now we turn to the time after the exile. The rain has descended, and the floods have come. It is but a tiny remnant that has returned, and what will its life be? Is sacrifice to have no place now? So some think that it should have been. The prophet and the priest, they think, must be ever at feud; up with the prophet, and down with the priest! But no such view is to be found in the Bible. Often in the heroes of the Bible story prophet and priest are one. Abraham is both, Moses is both, Samuel is both, Elijah is both, Jeremiah and Ezekiel are both, and Christ our Lord is both. There is a false and degraded priesthood which the prophets denounce, but there is also a false and degraded prophecy; and if we ask which is denounced the more fiercely, the answer is that it is false prophecy that is generally the basis of false priesthood, and the blows fall more heavily upon the former. "A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?" Now it is the glory of Israel's reformation that in

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

it prophet and priest worked hand in hand. It was so even before the great disaster; behind Josiah's action there is both Hilkiah the priest and Huldah the prophetess. It is so in that noble book Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy is all for sacrifice, but all, too, for righteousness and the circumcised heart; Israel's worship is just one element in Israel's consecrated life; the state is a religious state, and the worship is a moral worship. It is so after the exile in Haggai and Zechariah. Their teaching is as profoundly ethical as that of the earlier prophets; but to them the first task is the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of Israel's worship, and they believe that the fulfilment of God's purpose depends upon this. But it is so perhaps above all in that great prophet, Ezekiel, whom we so neglect, but to whom Israel's reformation perhaps owed more than to anyone else. Ezekiel was, like Jeremiah, a priest; but he had the priestly outlook as Jeremiah had not. His ideal for the Church of God was not only that of a holy people, but that of a worshipping people; witness must be borne by the Church to God, not only by a corporate life of justice and mercy, but by a noble worship and a disciplined religious life. So to Ezekiel what seem but the details of worship are full of interest and importance; and he sets himself to devise a new system of fast and festival and sacrifice for the restored people of God. Right worship is no substitute for right conduct, but it is a part of right conduct, part of that duty towards God, the neglect of which is sure, in the long run, to mean the neglect of duty towards our neighbour also. Ezekiel did not altogether get his way; new Prayer-Books have a stormy course. But the worship of the second temple owed a great debt to Ezekiel; and it is with a few words about it that I will close my survey.

We observe first that, though the second temple has an elaborate system of sacrifice, the old evils have received a mortal blow. Old degrading rites and superstitions for a time live on, as the latest chapters of the Book of Isaiah show. But the work of Josiah as a whole stands. Apart from the Samaritans, there is in the Holy Land no sacrifice to Yahweh except at Jerusalem, and so no possibility of rival Yahwehs. Moreover, all is carefully regulated, as it is believed, by the divine com-

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

mand; all is to be done thus, and not otherwise, at the appointed place and the appointed time; Israel can no longer multiply its sacrifices at its own will. Thus sacrifice is made to emphasize the importance of exact obedience instead of substituting something else for it, and an obedient people in this Israel remained. Our Lord blames the Jews for many things; but never for the character of their worship, or for too great attention to it in comparison with other things. If he quotes Hosea's watchword, "loving-kindness and not sacrifice," he is thinking of the Sabbath, and not of worship. Moreover, the priest has now to be a teaching priest. See what Malachi says about that: there are few better subjects than his book for a priest's retreat. Malachi insists as fully as we could desire that all that belongs to the worship of God must be the best that we can offer, and that the laity must pay their tithes. But he has no use for priests that offer sacrifice, but do not teach or evangelize their people. The priest is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts to turn many from iniquity; his lips must keep knowledge; men must seek instruction from his mouth; and if he neglects the work that really costs him labour and pain, God will make him "base and contemptible before all the people," and throw his sacrifice back in his face.

Secondly, the reformed system, so far from deadening, deepens the sense of sin. In it—apparently for the first time—we find the sin-offering and trespass-offering distinguished from the burnt-offering, and given a place of their own. The great Day of Atonement seems to be new, though old elements may be found among its ceremonies. But let us observe this. The ordinary sin-offerings can only be offered for the most venial sins; for sins done with a high hand they provide no atonement. With the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement that is not so clear. It was offered primarily for the nation as a whole to remove the corporate guilt which stained it in the eyes of God. The individual might, no doubt, share in it; but he was never—so taught the Rabbis—to presume upon it; or to suppose that, if he had sinned against his brother, the Day of Atonement would help him unless he made amends. What could be better than all this? The very fact that sacrifice was necessary, even for involuntary sin, emphasized the divine

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

holiness, while the fact that it could be offered for that alone did so even more. If the law did not overcome sin, it kept it in continual remembrance; and so was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, who alone can deliver us from it.

III

We see, then, the history; and "these things," St. Paul says, "happened by way of example, and were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come." Did the Catholic Church understand the story? Very little, I fear; it was not then possible that she should; and because she understood it so little, it has been in part repeated in her own history. The Church had from the first her own profound doctrine of Sacrifice, though like other doctrines it was but slowly thought out and formulated. But, when she received the heathen multitudes into her fellowship without real conversion, what was likely to become of it? The Church did what Israel did. Everywhere she found "gods many and lords many"; and she changed their names, without always greatly changing the character of the devotion offered to them. The change of names was easy. A saint may be as popular as a god if we offer him the same petitions and keep his festival in the old way. If Holy Church prefers St. Dionysius to Dionysus and St. Elias to Helios, we are ready to oblige her; and the Virgin Mother of the Lord will more than fill the place of the virgin goddesses and mother goddesses of our earlier devotion. At any rate there will be a blessed change in our local legends. But we are many, and our teachers are few; what will be our thoughts of sacrifice? Holy Church says that we must not offer animal sacrifices to the saints, and after a while we give up doing so, and are satisfied with the sacrifice of the Mass, offered to God alone. But how shall we think of it? Shall we always understand that our Christian sacrifice is one, and only one; that the Lord died for us once for all; and that, though his one offering abides, and he "is," and not merely once was, "the propitiation for our sins," and as such is present with us in our highest act of worship, there is no new sacrifice, or repetition of what he did long ago. No

Sacrifice Outside Christianity

doubt that is what our wisest teachers say, but it is not what we half-Christians think. Sacrifice we had before we were Christians, and we think of it much as we have always thought of it. Sacrifice, we suppose, is an act that we have performed for us by the priest; and it works its effect without further trouble to ourselves. Each act of sacrifice stands by itself, and has a power of its own, though that power may not be great. Thus the more acts the better. When Solomon offered two and twenty thousand oxen it had two and twenty thousand times as much effect as it would have had if he had offered one. And, of course, we can offer for mortal sins as for others, though in this case the sacrifices must be more numerous. That was the popular belief about sacrifice in the Dark Ages and in the Middle Ages, as it had been long ago in Israel; the chief difference was that, since Christians believed in a future life, sacrifices were offered for the dead as well as the living. The moral result was as deplorable in the second case as it was in the first; and the moral reaction, when at last it came, was even more violent. It is quite true that the teaching of the theologians in no way justified the popular belief. But the Church allowed the practice to which this belief led, profited by it, and at last attempted to justify it; and it was the popular practice with which the Reformers had to deal. If our task to-day is synthesis, if we like Haggai and Zechariah have to restore much that has been mistakenly destroyed, we must not forget our debt to the Reformers, and above all we must see that we restore the right things. If we are to win our Protestant brothers we must make two things absolutely clear. First, the Holy Sacrifice is essentially one. We multiply our celebrations, as Christians of the East do not, because we have taught our people the blessing of frequent Communion, as they have not. It would no doubt be better, if it were possible, to plead the One Sacrifice, and to feed upon it, together. We do not believe that each Mass is a separate sacrifice, with an individual power of its own. Secondly, the Holy Sacrifice is a "reasonable service," which requires the activity of the mind and of the will. It cannot be pleaded for us, unless it is pleaded by us; and it cannot be pleaded by us with acceptance before our Father, unless it is the expression of

Sacrifice in the Old Testament

our own worship, our own penitence, our own thanksgiving, our own desire to do his will, and to forward his purpose for the world. I myself was brought up among the Evangelicals; I know them, and I dearly love them still. I am sure that the best Catholics and the best Evangelicals are here far nearer one to another than either of them understand; it is words that divide us far more than our real convictions.



The Christian Sacrifice



The Sacrifice of Calvary

By K. E. KIRK

I



WE are asked to consider this evening the Sacrifice of Calvary—or (as we may say) the sacrificial aspect of the Redeemer's death and life—for all, I suppose, are agreed that life and death may not be separated in this great issue. And at once the question meets us: "What do you mean by 'sacrifice'?" Indeed, it is hard to say what we mean by it; for the word has become all too vulgarized. Many of us make what we call "great personal sacrifices" whereby no one stands to gain but ourselves; and the "sacrifices" of the bargain sale catalogue are a mere conventionality of advertisement. Let us say, then, that by a sacrifice we mean, firstly, an expenditure of some real magnitude; and, secondly, an expenditure offered by the spender to another. Sacrifice is a surrender, an offering, a gift, small (often enough) in absolute value, but precious even so in significance. It is sometimes said, indeed, that for a valid sacrifice that which is offered must in the offering be destroyed. But all destruction brings with it new creation, and no offering can be without expense to the offerer. We keep a more open mind if we say, with weighty authorities, that the transference of the gift to a new possessor, or its conversion to a new use and power, is that which lies at the root

On Calvary

of this idea of "destruction." Not the death of the victim, but the offering of its life, is that which matters.*

Two things at least, therefore, are involved in a sacrifice—expense to the offerer and value to the recipient. That could be no true sacrifice which cost the offerer nothing at all—not even a moment's thought or care. Nor could we call by the name a gift which could have no conceivable value to the recipient—not even in the giver's mind. Once religion has grasped the truth that the Almighty does not eat bull's flesh, nor drink the blood of goats, to offer these any longer is sacrilege and not sacrifice. At least, in the worshipper's honest opinion, his sacrifice must mean something to its receiver—must have some dimly intelligible purpose. A surrender which cannot in any conceivable circumstances elicit a response from its recipient is the equivalent of something which he never receives—it is no gift to *him*. And so if our first question as to sacrifice must concern the offerer's expense, the second must equally concern the recipient's supposed need thereof; and that sacrifice becomes rational or appropriate in which the expense is commensurate with the need, and the need with the expense. Nay, more, if the need is real and pressing, and no other expenditure can meet it, then the expenditure of which we are thinking is not merely appropriate, but necessary and indispensable for the setting right of wrongs.

II

The death of Christ, like many another martyrdom, is a terrible and moving thing. That does not make it a sacrifice. To see it in its sacrificial aspect it is not enough that we should be moved to tears or horror, nor that we should take it simply as a symbol of the cruelty of men or the tragic element in human life. To see it as a sacrifice we must steadily contemplate it in those two aspects of which I have already spoken—the aspect of a gift which costs the offerer much, and the aspect of a gift which satisfies a need.

* On this point see, *e.g.*, W. Spens in "Essays Catholic and Critical," P. 433.

The Christian Sacrifice

That it was a gift—a royal gift—admits no question. A gift must be something freely given. A transaction of contract or bargain, a tax we are constrained to pay—these are no gifts. The Bible rightly emphasizes this element in our Lord's death; St. Paul rightly speaks of it as the "free gift." In this sacrifice Christ is not victim alone—for the victim has no choice in a sacrifice. It was not Isaac who offered himself upon the altar, but Abraham who offered him. Christ is not victim alone, but priest as well; and whatever other meaning that great phrase may have, at least it means that Christ gave himself freely to die for us. The gift began when, though he was rich, he became poor for our sakes; when being in the form of God he thought it no prize to be equal with God, but humbled himself. Further gifts were added when in the desert, of his own free will, he chose the hardest and not the easiest way of Messiahship; added again in his free giving of himself in teaching, training, healing. At every turn of the Gospel story we see the same portent—the picture of one who gives freely, unsparingly, of his best. It is the climax of that generosity without beginning and without end which characterizes a God who has given to each of us life and health and joy and comradeship and vocation; a God of whom it is rightly said that before we call he will answer, and while we are yet speaking he will hear. The "gifts of God are without repentance," says the old English text—there is in them no afterthought—no *arrière pensée*, no element of paying for services rendered or demanded.

All the more significant is this *freeness* of the gift of Christ when we consider the cost to him who made it. Here it is wrong to centre our thoughts too narrowly on Calvary. It is true that the manner of a death, when placed in contrast to the life of which it is the close, will often achieve a significance which no moment in that life, nor the whole life itself, could have in isolation. Death makes patent, sometimes, virtues or vices which were only latent in life. Treason loses some of its blackness if it can be said of the traitor that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it"; and a hero can "mar the perfect picture of a life by one black smutch at closing." We are right in isolating the death and cross of Christ some-

On Calvary

times, and seeing in them an all-important and self-contained moment of the highest significance. But Calvary is not the whole story; we must look back in the record to Gethsemane and Jerusalem, to Galilee, Nazareth, and Bethlehem. At all those times and in all those places there was a crucifixion; a crucifixion in Gethsemane, when the agony closed round the Saviour; a crucifixion in Jerusalem, when the Chosen People rejected the Lord's Anointed; a crucifixion in Galilee, when Pharisees cavilled, and crowds jostled and ebbed and flowed, and disciples misunderstood. Above all, perhaps there was a crucifixion at Bethlehem and Nazareth, when the Son of God chose to be confined within the pitiful limitations of human ignorance and frailty, and to labour in the narrow surroundings of an upland hamlet. We have spoken once of the Temptation; let us think of it again. That the divine should submit to such humiliation as to make temptation—human temptation—possible; should be so conditioned as to suffer the impulse to be untrue to its own nature—is there not crucifixion there? By his holy Nativity and Circumcision; by his Baptism, Fasting and Temptation; by his Agony and Bloody Sweat—by all these, as by his Cross and Passion, Christ wrought out his sacrifice in its fulness. On Calvary all these crucifixions came to their focus and culmination; the spendthrift life of royal giving found its apparent issue in hopeless bankruptcy. Who can count the cost of the Incarnate Life and Death of Christ to the Godhead?

For let us not forget that in the sacrifice of Christ the whole Godhead is involved. I do not wish to touch upon the mystery of the Holy Trinity or the problem of the suffering of God; but we are not going beyond the language of Scripture if we remind ourselves that God so loved the world as to give his only-begotten Son, and that such a giving cannot be other than a sacrifice. Surely, too, the Spirit which groans and makes intercession with our feeble spirit must have groaned and interceded with Jesus? Nothing was held back that could be given when God gave himself for man; the sacrifice was as complete, as costly, as excruciating as God—and only God—could make it.

The Christian Sacrifice

III

So much, then, of the cost of our sacrifice to its offerer. What of the recipient's need? But, first, who is the recipient? There is a sense—a very real sense—a sense which could not be more real—in which *man's* need was satisfied by the life and death of Christ. Each one of us knows that only too well—it is the soul of Christian joyfulness—it is that to which we are met to testify. Let us try for a moment to throw off the fetters of conventional language, and realize once more what all true evangelicalism means by the "sense of sin." Let us recall the meannesses, the emptinesses, the selfishnesses, the unkindnesses of to-day and yesterday, of this morning and afternoon—nay, of half an hour or even five minutes ago. Let us think of them not as a vague and generalized deviation from the ideal, which we pigeon-hole as "rather sinful," which causes us a transient uneasiness for the moment, but which we readily forget. Let them rather appear as an endless series stretching back into the mists of our earliest years—each one of them a fall as terrible and dishonourable as Adam's or David's or St. Peter's—each one of them an act as hostile to our Father in Heaven as St. Paul's persecution of the Church of God. Let us set side by side with them the half-hearted, intermittent, and never wholly disinterested reactions which we dignify by the names of "struggles for righteousness" or "service of God." So viewing our lives as a whole, can we dare to say that a single moment goes by in which our own efforts to lead Christian lives are sufficient—in which we do not need the life and death of Christ? At the very least we need them as an example and inspiration, and gladly profess ourselves of those who at the instance of St. Peter and St. Paul set themselves to a life of the Imitation of Christ. Still more—if, as we believe, the power of the Holy Spirit co-operates with men to dwell in them as the Spirit that dwelt in Jesus—does the triumphant life of obedience lived by Jesus, even to the death, satisfy a human need, giving not merely the example of great humility and patience, but also power to be partakers of his resurrection and to live henceforth in newness of life?

On Calvary

Here is something, happily, in which Christians of every persuasion are agreed. In other matters they may be as widely separated as the poles, in this they are united. Christ's death, with the life of which it was at once the summary and the climax, opened to all men the possibility of newness of life which otherwise would have been unattainable. It satisfied man's deepest need, it was a gift of priceless value. Do we say, then, that *man* is the recipient of Christ's sacrifice—that it was offered to him? Not for a moment would any Christian dare to say so. The name "sacrifice" is appropriate only where the receiver is worthy of the offering; and we are wholly unworthy that Christ should do anything for us. If there is any justification in using the word "sacrifice" of Calvary at all—if it is to mean to us anything more, in this connection, than just costliness of effort—then it must be *God* to whom the sacrifice was offered. And when this is said we are face to face with one of the greatest problems and mysteries of Christianity. I know no better way of exploring it than by asking two simple questions. The first is, *Why did God need a sacrifice?* The second, *How does Christ's death upon the cross satisfy that need?*

IV.

Why did God need a sacrifice? The world is not as it should be; and the main reason why it is not is to be found in human sin. No soul is what God would have it to be, no soul as innocent as he created it; and the reason lies in the fact that every soul has sinned. Here, then, is a need of God; a need for a sinless world and sinless souls. Had God never created the Universe, it could not be said that he needed one; having created it, it must be true of him that he needs—desires—its perfection; and sin is that obstacle to its perfection for which man is responsible. If there is to be a race of men at all, we cannot say other than that God needs and desires that they should be sinless.

"But surely," it may be said, "once a man repents of his sin, puts it away and turns to God, the need is done away with—God has forgiven the sin, it is blotted out, abolished, forgotten; penitence has satisfied God's need. Penitence is the

The Christian Sacrifice

sacrifice that God requires—"Meat-offering and drink-offering thou wouldest not; then said I, lo, I come." We cannot praise too highly the virtue of Christian penitence. In the sculptures of the great Abbey Church of Vézèlay in Burgundy it is the repentant Magdalen who stands at heaven's gate with St. Peter to welcome in the elect. The greater joy in heaven is the joy over the sinner that repents; the fullest picture of divine forgiveness in our Lord's teaching is in the parable of the Prodigal Son. But true as this most certainly is, it is not the whole truth. Twelve years ago a great patriot sent as her dying message to her fellow-countrymen the words "Patriotism is not enough." It is no mere parody of that ringing epigram to say that great penitents throughout the ages have recorded for their fellow-Christians the conviction, "Penitence is not enough." Here is a truth to which Christianity is fully and absolutely committed. Penitence is not enough:—

"Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears for ever flow,
All for sin could not atone;
Thou must save, and thou alone."

We must dwell a little longer upon this cardinal conviction of our faith that penitence is not enough to satisfy God's need. In the economy of salvation, sin must be cancelled out. On the side of evil, on the debit side, sin is a positive fact; but on the side of righteousness, the credit side, penitence is no more than an aspiration, a possibility. It is not itself the new life of righteousness; it is only the first step—the turning to God, the renouncing of the past—which makes the new life possible. And possibilities do not cancel facts; they only hold out the hope that the facts may be cancelled. The possibility of refreshment does not cancel the fact of hunger; the possibility of relief does not cancel the fact of pain. So, I think, it must be with penitence and sin; penitence removes a barrier to the cancelling of sin, but sin itself is not cancelled by penitence alone.

But, further, even if by a miracle of grace any one of us were able truthfully to say "Now I sin no more," he still

On Calvary

would have to add: "But I have been a sinner." And what we have been leaves some trace or stain which the mere becoming something else cannot wholly remove. This is the most difficult point in all our subject, and I know no way of expressing it except by pictures. One such picture comes to my mind; that of a child—it is a well-known piece of fiction—who through the fault of others rather than of himself had fallen into every kind of childish deceit and evasion. Won back to better things by the patience of a mother's love, he gives way once more to a piece of naughtiness, saying in self-excuse: "It's all different now." "Not altogether different," is the author's comment, "for when young lips have drunk deep of the bitter waters of hate, suspicion, and despair, all the love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge." That was written of human love, and of divine love, in the end, I believe it is not true; but the story has enough truth for our purposes. God builds a beautiful temple when he creates a human soul; he writes a beautiful story when he plots a human life. But you and I by sin have desecrated the temple and spoilt the story in the telling; a new life—a converted life—may repair the damage (make reparation, as we say); it cannot efface it. "All for sin could not atone"; if God's need is to be satisfied, it will be satisfied only by other efforts than yours and mine.

The life history of the best and saintliest of us is written in the story of the Prodigal Son. The Prodigal Son comes home from his disastrous journey. He is penitent; he is forgiven; and the story fades away into the joy and feasting of its close. But are things, after all, exactly as they were before? No; for the substance wasted in riotous living has not been restored. Supplement the story by some of our Lord's outspoken words about the loss that our lives cause to God—the saying that, even when we have done all that is commanded, we are unprofitable servants—we do not earn our keep; the parable of the slave who owed his master ten thousand talents—and it is easy to see that the son could never restore the possessions he had wasted. Should we, then, applaud him if he said: "I have repented, I have been forgiven; my father needs nothing more; all has been repaired"? Should we not rather say: "The loss

The Christian Sacrifice

remains; and until it is repaired there is still something which the father lacks"?

V

So we come to our second question: *Does the sacrifice of Christ satisfy God's need, and, if so, how?* Dismiss at once all thought of those old answers which have shocked the moral sense and alienated men from the Gospel; they were attempts to state the truth which may have helped for a moment, but thereafter missed their mark. Christ's death does not satisfy God's need, because more punishment had to be meted out, more suffering endured, more wrath appeased—metaphors like these border upon the blasphemous. They represent God as a tyrant, raging till someone has been tortured—it matters not who; as a pedantic magistrate—a veritable Justice Shallow among gods—so tied to his routine that, rather than remit a fine he has imposed, he will pay it himself. These are not Christian conceptions. Revert once more to the figures we have chosen. The temple which God built, the story he planned, were marred and made impossible by sin; and in the temple and the story are signified the sinless human life lived, not by automatons, but by self-conscious free-willed men. Something of infinite value to God was defiled, beyond all cleansing by human effort; men whom he had made upright sought out, and degraded themselves with, the many inventions of sin. Only one thing could restore to God's sight the vision thus cloaked in darkness. That one thing was a Perfect and Sinless human life; and such a life was lived to its culmination in the obedience of the Cross by our Redeemer. He built a new Temple, more perfect than the first, which no hostile effort could destroy: he made a new story—a story which we still call the good news of Jesus Christ. If by no other figure, then perhaps by this we may perceive, as in a glass, darkly something of the way in which Christ's life and death satisfied God's need, and so became the perfect sacrifice for sin.

Think, then, of the Cross—and therewith of all that the Cross typifies in the life and death of Jesus—held up, as the words of the Gospel hint, like the brazen serpent between man and God. It is held up in man's sight to give him an inspiration

On Calvary

to newness of life, and an assurance of grace to co-operate in its achievement. It is held up before God as restoring to him that which human sin destroyed—the perfect Pattern and Realization of all that he meant man's life to be. It is a gift given by God-in-man for man to God-in-God; a sacrifice, if we may say so, by God to himself at his own charges. Is it not true, after all, that he himself needed such a sacrifice of himself if his work was to be complete? Is it not equally true that this sacrifice satisfied his need as no other could? Is there blasphemy or folly or immorality in the doctrine of the Cross if we look at it in some such way as this? Does it surrender anything that the Christian Church holds dear? I cannot answer these questions; I have only tried to put before you what seems to me to be the truth of the Gospel in a manner free from offence; free also from that refining and minimizing of Christian truth which is so easy and unprofitable a method of meeting the challenge of our times. I leave it with you as a suggestion, but a suggestion only; a metaphor which you may discard or build upon according as it seems to you, in its measure, to point to falsehood or to truth.

The seer of the Apocalypse saw the New Jerusalem, the heavenly city, coming down from heaven to take the place of the old guilt-ridden city which had added sin to sin until it crucified the Lord. The Christian Church has seen the Son of God descend from heaven as Son of Man, to replace on earth that travesty of manhood which is all that sin has left of true humanity. All the conditions of a sacrifice for sin are here complete. It is needed; it is costly; it—and it alone—cancels the offence of sin. We look to a Redeemer, crucified in death, but crucified in life as well, by reason of his sinlessness in the midst of a sinful world; and we know that the offence of the past has been blotted out by God in his own sight; that his eyes see—as do ours also—nothing but the perfect Realization of the Man. For our own sins we must still repine; for the loss they caused to God we need repine no more; for that loss has been made good by Another. The wrong of the past has been righted; and we may turn to the future with grateful hearts, resolved by God's grace not to repeat the wrong.

The Christian Sacrifice

❧ II ❧

The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist

By E. G. SELWYN



THE paper which precedes this, on the subject of the Sacrifice on Calvary, provides the necessary ground and foundation for any exposition of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist. In a definition which has been accepted as classical in Christian thought, St. Augustine laid it down that visible sacrifice is the symbol of a sacrifice invisible, and derives its significance in the first place from the interior intentions and dispositions of the heart of the offerer. In our Lord's case, what we have to do with is a life which was at every point, and not only in death, sacrificial. There was no moment in his Incarnate Life in which he was not offering to the Father, as the great High Priest of mankind, the sacrifice of adoration and obedience, of expiatory sufferings, of redeeming charity, of steadfast patience, of victorious joy—of all, in fact, that man owes of love to God and to his fellow-men. And I want to emphasize that fact of our Lord's Person and Work before going further; for both the Cross and the Eucharist alike only have sacrificial meaning because they have to do with him who was—in the Baptist's words—"the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." It is his offering to the Father in human life of all that is due from man to God, both for God's glory and for man's redemption from sin and guilt, that underlies both the Eucharist and the Cross.

And yet we need to make a distinction. There are different

In the Eucharist

moments in our Lord's sacrificial activity, even while on earth—different modes in which it is realized. We feel, and all the Evangelists alike confirm us in feeling, that our Lord's Passion and Death are in some sense *sui generis*—not simply the natural climax of his life of sacrifice, but the accomplishment of that self-offering in a distinctive setting and to distinctive ends. He is to offer himself now not in the sufferings of homelessness, of disappointment, of infinite sympathy with men; but in the special experiences of bodily torment and spiritual dereliction and forsakenness which make up the misery of death. And he does that in expiation of sin; for the guilt of the world was laid on him. In the story of the Passion we see our Lord voluntarily offering himself as a sacrifice for sin; and it was what he then made it that has determined its meaning for the world ever since. When we look upon the crucifix, we do not frame such words as "murder," or even "martyrdom," though both would be just; only one word is felt to express its full meaning, and it is the word "sacrifice."

But what do we mean by sacrifice? Let me give you an illustration from an obscure corner of history. About a century ago, the Island of Formosa, now a colony of the Japanese Empire, was governed by the Chinese. The natives, who were and are a very primitive people, suffered grievously from their rule, which was harsh and cruel; but there were exceptions. One such was a Chinaman, named Goho, who was so successful in handling the natives that he was appointed governor of the island. When he entered upon his task, the natives had been accustomed from time immemorial to offer once a year a human sacrifice; and previous governors had been used to humour their scruples by providing them with some condemned criminal as a victim. Goho could not bring himself to tolerate this custom, and he persuaded them to accept instead a pig or a goat for the sacrifice. Year after year, for forty years, this device succeeded; but at last the nation could brook it no longer. They came and told him that they must have now a human victim and none other, and that if Goho would not himself provide them with a human victim, they would themselves lay hold on a Chinaman for the purpose. The governor realized that he could prevail no longer, and that they could

The Christian Sacrifice

not be put off. And he gave his orders accordingly. "Go," he said, "to the forest to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and at such and such a place you will find a man tied up, wearing a red robe and a red hat, and a scarlet cloth over his face. Strike; for he is your victim." Next morning the natives did as he bade them; and when they saw the man tied up, apparelled sacrificially as he had said, the blood-lust came upon them and they rushed upon their victim. In a few moments all was over. Then, as the scarlet cloth fell aside, they saw the face; and it was the face of Goho. So Goho prevailed. It is said that from that day to this no human sacrifice has ever been offered in the Island of Formosa; instead the natives gather every year to celebrate with solemn thanksgiving the anniversary of his death.

Now there are three features, I think, in that story which make it instructive as an example of sacrifice. There is first the fact—which is not found in any merely ceremonial sacrifices, such as those of the Jewish law—that priest and victim are one and the same; it is ethically the highest kind of sacrifice—viz., self-sacrifice. Secondly, you will note that, though the whole sacrifice is centred in a death, and a death which did literally expiate for sin, it was not those who did the killing who offered the sacrifice; it was Goho who offered it. And, thirdly, he offered it not simply by being killed, but by giving to his death, by his own words and acts—by the apparel he wore and by the command given previously to "strike, for he is your victim"—a sacrificial significance.

Let me apply this analogy to the far greater sacrifice which we are considering here. Of Christ as himself both Priest and Victim I have already spoken. It is a truth which lies latent beneath the Gospel story, only to be fully worked out in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That Epistle represents our ascended Lord as our great High Priest for ever offering, pleading, presenting in heaven his own sacrifice of himself for man's sin. Just as the Jewish high priest on the Day of Atonement entered into the Holy of Holies with the blood of the victim slain outside and sprinkled this blood on and before the mercy-seat, in token of the reconciliation of Israel with God, so now Jesus has entered within the veil, not with the blood of a

In the Eucharist

bullock in his hand, but with his own blood, which is the price of the world's forgiveness. It is a notable fact that the Epistle which, more than any other book of the New Testament, emphasizes the all-sufficiency and once-for-all-ness of our Lord's oblation on the cross, should also have as its principal theme the continued pleading of this oblation in the timeless world of heaven. Yet the two truths correspond. So far as history and this world of successiveness are concerned, our Lord's oblation of himself was consummated on the cross and cannot be repeated. But this unique oblation has also its timeless aspect, corresponding to the "indissoluble" and eternal life of him who offered it as Man, and as Man is for ever both the Priest and the Lamb; and it is that truth which we try to express when we speak of the eternal offering in heaven.

I pass, secondly, to the death on the cross. Examination of the Jewish sacrifices, or of pagan sacrifices either, does not allow us to say that a victim's death was always involved in a sacrifice. Gift or offering being the fundamental element in sacrifice, this sometimes took the form of corn or wine or some other staple food. But so far as expiatory sacrifices were concerned, it was otherwise; then a living victim, and that victim's death, were necessary; and it is significant that it is only these sacrifices which are alluded to by the writers of the New Testament when they seek for analogies to the death of our Lord. Yet here, too, as in the case I quoted from Formosa, note that the death is not made to be a sacrifice simply in and through the act of killing. That Jewish crowd, those soldiers, Judas, Caiaphas, Pilate—what those men did who put our Lord to death was not to sacrifice him, or to offer a sacrifice at all. What they did was to commit a judicial murder. It was he and he alone, carrying through the oblation of himself which he had made by word and deed at the institution of the Eucharist, who offered the sacrifice that day.

But there is yet a third point, and for our present subject it is the most important. You will remember the red robe and hat which Goho wore, and the words which he spoke on the night before his death—"Strike, for he is your victim." These words, these robes of ceremony, correspond to a feature which is common to all sacrifice, not least to those sacrifices of the

The Christian Sacrifice

Covenant, of the Passover, and of the Day of Atonement which are most used in Scripture to illustrate the Christian Sacrifice. This feature consists in certain "sacerdotal acts" or "acts of consecration" which precede and follow the killing of the victim, and the purpose of which is to give to the victim's death its supernatural significance and to apply its blessings to the worshippers. Such were, for example, the presentation of the victim by the worshipper to the priest; the imposition of hands by the priest on the victim's head with confession of sin, representing the transfer of guilt from the worshipper to the victim—both these preceding the immolation; and, after the immolation, the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, in token of the worshipper's union with God; the consumption of the fat by fire upon the altar, representing the divine acceptance of the sacrifice; and, in some cases, a common feast upon the victim's flesh, representing the fellowship of the worshippers both with God and with one another.

Now for various reasons we must beware of pressing too closely the sacrificial analogies of Scripture. The sacrifices of the Jewish law were only "types and shadows," and it is they which are to be interpreted by the realities of the Christian covenant and not *vice versa*. Again, those sacrifices were held to atone only for outward and "legal" faults: for wilful sin, sin "with a high hand," they could not avail. At best, moreover, they secured from God only an "overlooking" of sins, not his "forgiveness": they could not cleanse the conscience from its guilt. And finally, we must not forget that, whereas in the case of the Jewish sacrifices we have only "conventional" victims which have to be consecrated for their ritual purpose, in the case of our Lord the Victim is a divine Person whose essential attribute is holiness. Yet, with that premised, we may return to our question: are there, in the case of our Lord's sacrifice, any words or acts corresponding to these "acts of consecration" which seem an indispensable feature of all other sacrifices? It is at this point that I bid you turn to the records of the Last Supper.

I need not dwell, I think, upon the details of that scene in the Upper Room; for they are familiar to you. Jesus and his disciples constitute a *chaburah* or band of friends, who are

In the Eucharist

met, according to Jewish custom,* to celebrate the *Kiddush* or service of Preparation for the Passover on the morrow. The candles are lit, and on the table, which is spread with a cloth, are set the rounds of hard-baked bread and a flagon of wine with a chalice. The bread and the wine were there for the ceremony of thanksgiving to God which, according to Jewish custom, each Jewish household observed at a solemn meal on the eves of Sabbaths as well as of great feasts; and there are reasons to suppose that our Lord had often held this meal with his disciples. But on this occasion he did that which he had not done before. Either as part of the customary benediction of the wine and of the bread, or in supplement to that customary ceremony, he blessed and broke and distributed, giving to these actions a clear sacrificial significance. "Take, eat: this is my Body. . . ." "This is my Blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many." "Body," "Blood," "covenant," "shed for many"; these words and phrases belong without question to the language of sacrifice. Remember that in every Jewish household that evening a similar supper was being held, and its main reference was to the Paschal sacrifice of the morrow. What Jesus did was, by his words and acts at this supper, to show to his disciples that for him and for them the morrow's sacrifice was to be other than they had thought. It was to be the sacrifice of a new covenant, not of the old; a real atonement, and not a ceremonial one; a sacrifice in the blessings of which they were here and now made most intimate partakers; and he himself was to be the Victim. In other words, at the Last Supper our Lord performed acts and spoke words which made his death to be a sacrifice for sin, expressly investing it with this significance. Knowing, as St. John says, that his hour was come, and having loved his own that were in the world, he loved them unto the end. Death being plainly set before him, he took it upon himself as the price of the world's pardon; offered himself to bear the burden of the world's guilt and to expiate it in death; gave his own Body and Blood to his disciples in token that his self-offering to the

* Cf. G. H. Box in *J.T.S.*, III., No. 11 (April, 1902), and W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy," pp. 156 ff.

The Christian Sacrifice

Father was then and for ever inseparable from the utterness of self-giving to man, thereby setting God and man at one. St. John himself, it is true, does not recount the institution of the Eucharist: but he does recount far more fully than the other Evangelists the substance of the conversations which our Lord then had with his disciples. I think you will find that those wonderful chapters, culminating in the high priestly prayer, take on a new poignancy and depth of meaning, if you read them as the accompaniment of the acts of self-offering made at the Last Supper: and indeed no comments of scholars or divines upon those acts throw half the light that shines on them from that one sentence of the Lord's: "For their sakes I sanctify (that is, I consecrate) myself, that they also may be sanctified (that is, consecrated) in the truth" (St John xvii. 19).

Let me sum up the argument to this point. The sacrifice of the death of Christ consists of two principal elements or parts—on the one hand, his death or immolation as Victim on the cross, which thus became the world's altar; and on the other certain acts and words of consecration, known to us as the Eucharist, which invested his death with its supernatural significance and in which he consecrated himself as the Victim offered for the world's salvation. We have seen that these two elements appear to be involved in the definition of all propitiatory sacrifice; and the sacrifice of Christ is therefore in line with the Jewish system of atonement which went before it. At the same time Christ's sacrifice is distinguished from these other sacrifices in certain important ways. In the first place, he is himself both the Priest at the consecration and the Victim of the death, thus completing once for all in expiatory oblation that work of priesthood and sacrifice which characterized his Incarnate Life. Secondly, by reason of that endless life which belongs to Christ as Son of God, he now appears in heaven for us with the marks of his Passion, continually pleading his sacrifice once offered in the world of time; and his whole oblation has thus an eternal aspect. But thirdly—and this brings us to the further step which we must now take—our Lord exercises his High Priesthood not only in the timeless order of heaven, but also in this world of successiveness and change which surrounds his Church on earth.

In the Eucharist

For this presence of our Lord with his Church on earth, we have his own sure promise as guarantee. "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20). "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you" (John xiv. 18). "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 20)—all these are promises of his presence in the Spirit, and the last more particularly, since it contemplates the Church at worship, of his presence as our Priest. And it is in reliance on these promises, as well as on its own experiences, that the Church both in East and West, both in early and in recent days, has always believed that the unseen Priest, Celebrant, Consecrator at every Eucharist was Christ himself.

But there is yet more to be said than this. If we have been right in regarding the sacerdotal acts or acts of consecration as an integral and necessary part of every sacrifice, and in identifying these in the case of our Lord's sacrifice with the Last Supper and the Eucharist, then the Eucharist, together with the ministry which descends through the ages from that Upper Room, must be regarded as the express provision which our Lord made for the participation by his Church on earth in his sacrifice. We are creatures of sense, and need what we can touch and see and hear; we live in fleeting moments of time, and need what can often be repeated: scattered over the globe, we need what can be multiplied in space. And so our Lord willed to consecrate his death to be the sacrifice of his people, not by a rite performed once and for all, but by a rite ever to be repeated, at all times and in all places, so long as the Church should remain on earth. That rite is the sacrifice of the Eucharist.

At an earlier point in this paper, I entered a *caveat* against pressing too closely the details of ancient sacrifice in seeking analogies to the sacrifice of the death of Christ. There is, however, another side to the matter: for the main features of sacrificial ritual among the Jews or other non-Christian peoples, however crude and even disgusting they appear to us to-day, yet represented deep-seated experiences and desires of the human heart which still crave for satisfaction. Since the Eucharist is a rite, made for the use of men, we shall expect

The Christian Sacrifice

to find in it outward expression of these impulses and their satisfaction no less clear than in the "types and shadows" which it supplanted. A brief outline of these fulfilments will bring this paper to its conclusion.

(i) In the Jewish sacrificial system the oblation began when the worshipper brought the victim to the door of the tabernacle and handed it over to the priest. The victim, moreover, must be a domestic animal, and the choicest of its kind—something, that is to say, that was really the worshipper's own, almost part of himself, and as worthy as possible of its sacred purpose. So in the Eucharist the Church's offering begins at the Offertory, when the priest takes into the service the people's gifts of bread and wine; and these gifts belong to the staple human foods and must be the best of their kind, the wine fermented and the bread of purest wheat.

(ii) A further common feature of sacrifice, whether Jewish or pagan, was the imposition of hands by the priest upon the head of the victim, together with the confession of sins, his own and his people's. The Eucharist has its counterpart to this in the emphasis upon confession of sin which, either as part of the liturgy or outside it, has always been closely connected with access to the Holy Mysteries. Some would go further still, and see in the direction which requires the priest to lay his hands upon the bread and chalice at the Consecration a symbol of the guilt-bearing of Jesus on the cross.

(iii) Then followed in Jewish sacrifices the victim's death, usually not by the priest's own hand. In the Christian sacrifice this finds its counterpart in our Lord's death on the cross, and there is no repetition of this in the Eucharist. It is true that an often dominant tradition of Roman Catholic theology has sought to find in the Mass a real "immolation" of Christ; but the main stream of Anglican theology—and a constant if sometimes tenuous stream of Roman theology—from the Middle Ages to our own day—has not endorsed the speculation. On the other hand, the Church has loved to see in the separate consecration of each species—in the sundering of the Body and Blood—a figure or representation of the Lord's immolation on the cross.

(iv) In the legal sacrifices the immolation was succeeded

In the Eucharist

and crowned by rites of great importance which represented the achievement of the whole purpose of the oblation. Such were the consumption of the choice parts of the victim by the sacred fire upon the altar, which symbolized its acceptance by God; the effusion of its blood, now pure through the expiatory death upon the altar, which spoke of the union of the worshipper's life with God; and (in some cases) a sacrificial meal, representing the sacred bond of fellowship in which the worshippers were now joined with God and with one another. This acceptance and union of the worshipper with the Object of his worship are the end and purpose of all sacrifice; and they are realized in the Eucharist, not in symbol, but in reality in the two great acts or "moments" of the rite, the Consecration and the Communion. They are realized in the Consecration, because then the Church in consecrating its gifts of bread and wine to be the perfect and accepted offering of Christ's Body and Blood thereby consecrates his death to be our sacrifice. They are realized in the Communion, because therein there is effected a real union of ourselves with God, conditioned on our side, indeed, by our penitence and faith, and yet on his side absolutely sure. And finally, we have in the Communion of the faithful a feast of Christian fellowship which finds its whole nourishment in feeding by faith upon the once crucified and now glorified Humanity of our Blessed Lord.

NOTES

1. *Bibliography*.—The following writers and books will be found especially helpful in the study of this subject: P. de la Taille, "Mysterium Fidei"; Will Spens, "Essays Catholic and Critical," pp. 427 ff., and Art. in "Theology," vii, pp. 194 ff. M. Lepin, "L'Idée du Sacrifice de la Messe"; Fairbairn, "Typology of Scripture," vol. ii; Martensen, "Christian Dogmatics," §§ 156-169; Dorner, "System of Christian Doctrine," iii, pp. 401-429.

2. *Terminology*.—Few problems of theology present more difficulties of terminology than that of the Eucharistic sacrifice. This is largely due to the fact that any treatment of the problem has to take account, not only of the Eucharist itself,

The Christian Sacrifice

but also of different traditions of liturgical usage which have grown up around it. The relevant factors might be represented in tabular form somewhat as follows:—

<i>The Parts of Sacrifice or Oblation.</i>	<i>Their Realization in History.</i>	<i>Their Realization in the Liturgy.</i>	<i>Nature of this Realization.</i>	<i>Description.</i>
1. Presentation of victim.	Our Lord's resolve to die, and his journey to Jerusalem.	The Offertory.	Figurative.	—
2. Immolation of Victim.	The Crucifixion.	The separation of the species.	Figurative.	Immolation (substantial oblation).
3. Sacerdotal acts, investing the victim's death with its supernatural significance.	The Last Supper and the Eucharist. The Resurrection, Ascension, and Heavenly Pleading.	The Consecration and Communion.	Actual (Christ being both Priest and Victim).	Consecration (formal oblation).

Both Anglican and Roman theologians show a tendency to apply the term "oblation" to one part only of the whole complex action of sacrifice, though in different ways: Roman theology tending to apply it to the verbal or ritual "offering" of the Host in the Eucharist, Anglican theology to our Lord's "offering" of himself in the death on the cross. There would seem real advantage, however, in using the word "oblation" in a broad sense and as coterminous with "sacrifice," "oblation" representing the purpose or form and "sacrifice" the matter of the whole complex action. The way is then open for a clear distinction between the death or *immolation* of the victim (*i.e.*, our Lord's death on the cross), and the *sacerdotal acts* or *consecration*, which invest that death with its significance and apply its benefits to believers. This involves using "consecration" in a larger sense than, *e.g.*, when we speak of "consecrating" the Eucharistic elements. But it is a sense which arises out of that other and more restricted sense, since it is precisely in and through the Church's consecration of the species that our Lord, the unseen Minister of every Eucharist, consecrates his death to be the sacrifice of our Redemption. The term has, moreover, the advantage of adequately representing the ritual acts which accompanied the Jewish sacrifices; and of being attributed to our Lord himself at the Last Supper by the Fourth Evangelist.

The Real Presence



The Doctrine of the Real Presence Historically Considered

By DARWELL STONE

I



MARKED feature of the earliest statements concerning the Holy Eucharist is their simplicity. St. Paul, writing before any of the Gospels, simply says that the cup is "a partaking of the blood of Christ" and the bread "a partaking of the body of Christ," that to eat or drink unworthily is to be "guilty of the body and blood," and that he who eats and drinks "without discerning the body" "eats and drinks judgement" (1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 27, 29). The earliest of the four Gospels records our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament: "This is my body," "This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many" (St. Mark xiv. 22-24; cf. St. Matt. xxvi. 26-28; St. Luke xxii. 19, 20). The latest of the four represents our Lord as saying: "The bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world" (St. John vi. 51). They are statements plain enough, but statements without explanation.

This simplicity is continued in representative writers of the second century. At the end of the first decade of that century, St. Ignatius of Antioch, without comment, describes the

The Real Presence

Eucharist as "the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered on behalf of our sins, which the Father in his goodness raised" (*Ad Smyrn.*, vii. 1). In the middle of the century, St. Justin Martyr, writing at Rome, in his description of the Eucharist as part of the service of the Church, says that the Christians of his time have been taught to regard the food received in it as "both the flesh and the blood of the Jesus who was made flesh" ("First Apology," lxvi. 2). Towards the end of the century, St. Irenæus, writing in Gaul, calls the bread the body of the Lord and the cup his blood (*Adv. Hær.*, iv. xviii. 5). The language of these writers is like that of the New Testament. It states simply and plainly. It does not attempt to explain.

II

It was not long before some attempts at explanation were made. At the end of the second century and in the opening years of the third, Tertullian, at Carthage, made use of a phraseology, a misunderstanding of which was destined to have deplorable consequences many centuries later. He described the Eucharistic bread as the "figure" of the Lord's body, and explained our Lord's words, "This is my body," as meaning "This is the figure of my body" (*Adv. Marc.*, iii. 19, iv. 40). About the same time, Clement of Alexandria spoke of the "symbol of holy blood" (*Pæd.*, ii. 2. 29. 1); and a few years later a liturgy used in the Church at Rome called the Eucharistic elements the "copy" and "antitype" of the body and blood of Christ (E. Hauler, "*Fragmenta Veronensia Latina*," pp. 112, 117). To understand such phraseology, it must be remembered that in the language of the time the word "figure" denoted reality as well as appearance, and that by "symbol" was meant that which is what it signifies (see C. H. Turner, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vii. 595-597; A. Harnack, "History of Dogma," ii. 144, iv. 289; D. Stone, "A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," i. 29-31, 66, 67). Later on, a further suggested explanation was that, through the consecration, the Eucharistic elements received a heightened or enhanced efficacy and power so as to be capable of producing spiritual effects and to become the body and

The Real Presence

blood of Christ (see, *e.g.*, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "Catechetical Lectures," xix. 7). Such attempts at explanation show that the minds of Christians were pondering on the truth expressed in the original simple ways.

III

As time went on, the attempts at explanation which have been mentioned lent themselves to a distinct cleavage of thought. In the fourth and fifth centuries there are two groups of writers on this subject among those whose works have been preserved. Both groups of writers agree that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ. They differ in their explanation. The one group maintains that the Eucharist is like the Incarnation, and the consecrated Sacrament like the incarnate life of the Lord, so that, as in the incarnate life the Godhead and the manhood are both there and both unchanged, similarly in the consecrated Sacrament the bread and wine continue to exist in all their reality while there is also the body and blood of the Lord. The other group minimises the continuance of the bread and wine, and lays stress on the change by which the consecrated elements are reordered or transferred or transformed or transmuted into the body and blood (see D. Stone, "A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," i. 98-106). The writers of the first group are the precursors of those who in later times have said that the consecrated Sacrament is still real and complete bread, real and complete wine, but also the body and blood of Christ. The writers of the second group are the precursors of those who, using the philosophy of the Middle Ages, have maintained that at the consecration the substance of the earthly elements is so converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ that the substance of bread and wine no longer remains. The latter doctrine is that known as Transubstantiation. It was worked out with great skill and subtlety by the Schoolmen of the Western Church in the Middle Ages. The Schoolmen had to face great problems. They had inherited the traditional belief of the Church from the first that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of Christ. They were sur-

The Real Presence

rounded by crude notions in which men could think of body only in the terms and after the fashion of the natural bodies of ordinary men and women in their present state. They had to deal with philosophies which demanded a reason and an explanation for all things. In the circumstances which thus existed the Schoolmen made a brave attempt to secure three results. First, it was their aim to maintain and protect the traditional belief that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of Christ. Secondly, they endeavoured to state and explain this belief in ways by which they might avoid a naturalistic or carnal way of understanding it. Thirdly, they attempted to make their theological definitions and explanations such as to be in harmony with the philosophy of their time. On the one side it was an appeal to tradition and authority. On the other it claimed the succour of reason and argument. In some respects this work of the Schoolmen had a great success. It succeeded in handing on the essential truth through a difficult period. It preserved the doctrine which made devotion possible and strong and deep. It laid the foundations of those systems of theology which sprang out of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent. In other ways it had its weakness. Its very complexity and ingenuity made it an offence to some and caused a failure to produce its intended effect in others. If it gave its help to the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent, it also did something to bring about the Protestant revolt against Eucharistic doctrine. But, before we condemn it, let us remember that the scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages in the circumstances of their own times successfully maintained two great convictions. First, they preserved the truth that "the real body and blood of the crucified and risen Lord, once slain and now living and glorious, are present under the species of bread and wine to be the spiritual food of those who worthily partake of the Sacrament." And secondly, they taught that "this presence is of a spiritual kind, not effected by any natural law, not of a body in any natural condition, uniquely wonderful, without true parallels elsewhere, though in harmony with the principles set up by the incarnate life of the divine Redeemer" (quoted from the author's "A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist,"

The Real Presence

i. 395). However they may have failed in some respects, they deserve our gratitude for that which they thus successfully did.

IV

Eucharistic doctrine was one of the chief subjects discussed in the Reformation controversies. From those controversies five principal opinions emerged, each with its own strenuous advocates. Transubstantiation was one of them. Belief in the presence of our Lord's body and blood in the consecrated Sacrament, together with the continued existence of the whole substance of the bread and wine, was another. The opinion that the consecrated Sacrament itself is no more than bread and wine, but that the faithful communicant at the moment of reception inwardly receives the body and blood of Christ, was a third. A fourth was that the faithful communicant receives, not the body and blood of Christ themselves, but their virtue and power. According to a fifth, the Eucharist is a merely symbolical rite, a remembrance of the past.

In view of these controversies, the Church of Rome at the Council of Trent affirmed Transubstantiation, and anathematized those who denied this doctrine. A different line was taken in the Church of England. Transubstantiation, probably in a carnal sense, not in the sense of the scientific theologians, was repudiated in the twenty-eighth of the Articles of Religion. The opinion that the Eucharist is merely symbolical also was rejected. The phrasing of the formularies and the actual course of events left any of the intermediate beliefs tenable within the English Church. A hundred years ago the belief that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of Christ was held by but few, and contrary opinions had become widely prevalent. During the last hundred years the number of those who believe the real presence in a proper sense has marvellously increased.

V

What comment is to be made on the facts of the past and the present history? Let us go back to the fifth century. I have mentioned the two groups of theologians then existing;

The Real Presence

the one laying stress on the continued existence of the bread and wine, the other emphasizing the change effected by consecration, both agreeing that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of Christ. For my own part, I do not think the difference between the two devotionally or spiritually important. Neither do I think the difference between the successors of these two groups—between, that is, the advocates of Transubstantiation in its proper theological sense, and the advocates of a real presence which does not conflict with the continued existence of the substance of bread and wine—important for Christian life and practice. What in my judgement is important for the Christian soul is not whether the substance of bread and wine is absent, but whether the Lord is present. Therefore, while I do not think the difference between the two groups of theologians in the fifth century, or between their successors in later times, devotionally and spiritually important, I believe their common ground, the fact that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of Christ, to be of supreme importance.

Here I may be met by a challenge—the challenge whether it is the case that a long and great succession of English theologians since the sixteenth century have missed something which really matters. It may be said: “So long as the faithful communicant receives his Lord, is it of consequence what the Sacrament itself is, apart from his reception of it?” It is the well-known appeal of the great English writer, Richard Hooker—“May we not concentrate on what the faithful communicant receives, and shelve all discussion as to everything else?”—an appeal made by Hooker with splendid force and culminating in the famous words: “What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ. . . . Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this: O my God thou art true, O my soul thou art happy!” (“Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,” V. lxvii. 12).

It is a serious thing to take up a different position from that of the long succession of great and good men in the English Church who have found it sufficient to say that the faithful communicant, when he receives the Sacrament, receives also the

The Real Presence

body of the Lord. But there are reasons—and in my judgment they are cogent reasons—for so acting. The first reason is that fidelity to history requires a fuller assertion. Simple as are the earliest statements, they do not suggest a receptionist view. The words of our Lord, “This is my body,” do not lend themselves to an interpretation “When you receive this, you will receive my body also.” Vague as some of the later statements may be, no fair explanation of them can make them mean this. As thought, both East and West, reached fuller expression, the voice of the Catholic teachers uttering the mind of the Christian consciousness made declaration that the consecrated Sacrament is itself the holy gift, the body of the Lord.

Secondly, a receptionist view would not bear the weight of the historical doctrine about the Eucharistic sacrifice. For in the Eucharistic sacrifice that which the Church presents to God the Father is the Lord himself. It is the Lord, and, therefore, all that he is. It is his body, it is his blood, it is his life. It is all that he has taken to be his own from the beginning of his humanity in the womb of his holy Mother to its consummation in his passion and death, his resurrection and ascension and heavenly glory. Before we receive the Lord into ourselves, we need to present him in sacrifice to God the Father. This sacrificial offering of the Lord himself needs not only that there is a gift to ourselves—albeit the holiest gift—in our own souls but also that the Sacrament which we offer to the Father before we receive it is itself the body of the Lord.

And, thirdly, the development of Christian life in Western Christendom has made familiar a use of the Blessed Sacrament which many have learnt to value. In its simplest form we find it when the anchoress of the thirteenth century is bidden to say—

“Glory to thee, O Lord,
Thou Virgin’s Son,”

as in the early morning she falls on her knees towards the high altar of the church where is the flesh and the blood of God (“The Ancren Riwe,” pp. 13, 14 in the edition in “The King’s Classics”). In a more elaborate form it is found in those great processions of the Sacrament which Archbishop

The Real Presence

Lanfranc instituted at Canterbury in the eleventh century. To these were added in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the rites of Exposition and Benediction, in which honour was paid to our Lord by the adoration of Christians. All these forms of worship, from the simplest to the most elaborate, from the most individual to the most corporate, demand that the consecrated Sacrament is the body of the Lord.

The ancient belief, the sacrificial offering, the mediæval and modern developments, all depend on the same truth; and it is a truth which demands much. No one should decry the simple piety, the genuine faith, of those generations of English churchpeople who found it enough to say that in their Communion they received the Lord, or his life, or at the least his power and virtue. No one should despise even those who were satisfied to keep in remembrance that the Lord has died and that he will come again. On such beliefs humble and reverent and devout and unselfish lives were built up. Such lives have their lessons to teach to those who are convinced that they have reached fuller truth. For this is the conviction. It is fuller; but also it is truth. The meal in the Upper Room grew by the providence of God into the stately ritual and high ceremonial of the later Mass. The simple words uttered at the institution of the Sacrament received their true development when in explicit language it was said that the bread and wine become at the consecration the body and blood of the Lord. The real lesson of history is that here is the truth of God. Those in the English Church who lay stress on it may well be conscious with heartfelt pain that they are parting company with many of their brethren in the past, and many even in the present. But they are conscious also that they are being faithful to a wider and stronger tradition, the tradition which is the historic belief of the Catholic Church of Christ.

The Real Presence

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The Real Presence Theologically and Philosophically Considered

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THAT is chiefly at issue in regard to the doctrine of the Real Presence is not whether our Lord is present in some special sense in the Eucharist. The great majority of Christians are agreed that he is in a most real sense the Minister of the Sacrament, that it is he who consecrates and distributes the sacramental gifts by means of those

who are not only our representatives, but members in his Mystical Body set apart for that end. The great majority of Christians are agreed, also, that in some real sense our Lord is in the Eucharist not merely the Priest, but the Victim, given in that most holy rite to be our sacrificial food, the Bread of Life and the Cup of Salvation. The majority of Christians go further, recognizing that the Eucharist is not merely a feasting upon a sacrifice, but that in and through the Eucharist our Lord's death is made to be our sacrifice, and that, in consequence, in the Eucharist he is himself our oblation.

What is at issue is whether we must separate ourselves from what it is well to remember is also a majority of Christians and of Christian thinkers, or whether we do right when, in common with the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, we think of the bread and wine as changed at consecration; and whether we do right when, after consecration, we so identify the Sacrament with our Lord as to direct to the Sacrament those physical acts by which we express

The Real Presence

our adoration of him. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is this last question which is of primary importance. Analysis of the significance of consecration is but the necessary basis for Eucharistic adoration. We are concerned not with philosophical or theological discussion in itself, but with the vindication of our right to participate here on earth in the heavenly worship of the Lamb. No one who has (for example) seen even a reproduction of Van Eyck's great picture of that worship, and who has any sense of the meaning of Christianity, can help feeling the desire both to adore him who was slain for our salvation and to give the fullest expression to this adoration; to see his Lord set before his eyes as the one true sacrifice, and to embody adoration in every action and every ceremony which has been devised to express worship. Nor are we concerned only to secure the fulfilment of an aspiration, but rather to maintain a deeply treasured experience. Precisely, in the degree of our temptation to sin, we are aware of two things: first, that sheer adoration is an experience so moving that the desire to preserve participation in that experience affords one of the strongest safeguards against sin; and, secondly, that for many at all times, and for all at times, sheer adoration is most possible when it is directed to some visible object which is reckoned an embodiment of God. That latter fact gave always the urge to idolatry. What we dare to claim is that in Christianity the divine wisdom has not ignored this fact of our nature, but has afforded to it at long last legitimate opportunity, and that without idolatry we may worship our Lord present on the Altar under the forms of bread and wine.

At this moment it is important to point out that it is not we who assert this, but those who deny our right to assert it, who depart from the teaching of the Church of England and seek to narrow its bounds. When men denounce this doctrine as an illegitimate innovation in the Church of England, they habitually ignore the Bennett judgment. The Court of Arches, and even, on appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, refused to condemn as unlawful in the Church of England Mr. Bennett's position, either in respect of his statement, "I am one of those who . . . myself adore, and teach

The Real Presence

the people to adore, Christ present in the Sacrament under the form of bread and wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," or in respect of his use of the phrase: "The real and actual presence of our Lord upon the altars of our churches."

But we are not content to claim, as we have the right to claim, that the doctrine for which we stand may legitimately be taught in the Church of England. We claim that it is the truth; and, in particular, that denial of this doctrine depends on a materialism of thought, which has warrant neither in experience nor in philosophy. Sacraments are not peculiar to Christianity or even to religion. They are the ordinary coin of personal intercourse. Is a kiss primarily a physical act, or is it not a spiritual act having a certain physical expression? Is the Cenotaph nothing more than a block of stone, and a Union Jack nothing more than a parti-coloured piece of cloth? In very truth all men's deepest feelings find expression by means of actions and objects, which are made the vehicle of their expression. If there is danger in carrying this to excess, it is no Catholic invention, but one lesson to be learnt from modern psychology, that in the case of any deep feeling some such expression is conducive to a healthy emotional life.

The problem for philosophy is how far we are justified in thinking of a sacramental action or object in terms of its whole significance, in regarding it as something which is fundamentally spiritual, but has a certain physical expression, or whether we must treat the physical expression as peculiarly real, or at the least as something which must be carefully distinguished in thought. In life we do not so distinguish. A newly dubbed knight never thought of the accolade as a physical act with a certain symbolic significance, but rather as an act of admission which had a certain ceremonial expression. In precisely the same manner Catholics think of Baptism, not as a physical act with a certain symbolic significance, but as a spiritual act which has a ceremonial expression. Nor is the case different when we turn to objects which are "effectual signs." Take the commonest of such objects—a shilling or any other piece of token coinage. In this case emotions are

The Real Presence

not involved, yet, even here, who ordinarily distinguishes in thought between the physical properties of the object and those other opportunities of experience which it affords as being a coin of the realm? A physical object is a complex of opportunities of experience, including such experience as leads us to assign to the object shape, size, and position. We do not, in fact, separate in our thoughts those opportunities of experience which admit of analysis and correlation in terms of the motion of electrons, and others which do not; provided always that these further opportunities of experience possess a comparable certainty. We feel assured that a shilling will continue to have its purchasing price, and, being so assured, we think of the shilling as something round, hard, shiny, and with this purchasing power. Indeed, in our thought it is this last which is fundamental.

The question remains as to how far this way of regarding objects can be justified when we try to think precisely. Clearly the opportunities of physical experience have a more fundamental basis and are more certain than the purchasing power. The opportunities of physical experience are determined by natural laws, the purchasing power merely by Act of Parliament. The certainty of the latter is for ordinary purposes sufficient, but it is clearly less. Again, the association of the different physical properties is determined by natural law, the further association with these of a certain purchasing power is determined by Parliament. On grounds both of certainty and of the basis of association, we are bound to distinguish, if we think precisely, between the natural properties of the object and its properties as an effectual symbol.

But the matter is different if, or when, the effectual symbolism of an object is determined by the Divine Will, and has therefore the same basis as has its natural properties. An earlier paper has advanced reasons why we may safely argue from the recorded words of institution, and from these as having a sacrificial background and therefore to be interpreted in terms of sacrificial conceptions. Men may have doubted, and did doubt, in our Lord's day as in other ages, whether sacrifices really effected spiritual results. There is neither evidence nor probability that, *if a sacrifice was regarded as*

The Real Presence

securing spiritual results, ritual participation in an appointed manner and in a right spirit would not, as a matter of course, have been supposed to secure participation in those blessings. If our Lord meant men to regard his Death on the Cross as an effectual, and the one effectual, immolation, the words "This is my Body" and "This is my Blood" must be held to mean that, receiving the broken bread and the cup which has been blessed, we are made partakers in the blessings of that sacrifice. The words employed suggest also participation in the very life of Christ, and this is in any case involved in our participation in the blessings of his sacrifice.

And this opportunity is afforded by the objects. On any Eucharistic doctrine—whether Zwinglian or Catholic—the significance of the act of communion is drawn from a significance assigned antecedently to certain objects. If the symbolism is effectual, if we have no mere tokens but a sacrament, and if, in consequence, the consecrated bread and wine afford real spiritual opportunities, then these opportunities have the same basis as the opportunities of physical experience—namely, the Divine Will, and their further association with the opportunities of natural experience has also this same basis. There is no ground, either in regard to certainty of opportunity, or in regard to ultimacy of association, for treating the opportunities of physical experience as more fundamental. Nor is there any ground in the fact that the appropriation of the spiritual opportunities involves our co-operation. That is true also of the opportunity of physical nourishment, the only difference being that at the higher level of spiritual nourishment a higher and therefore conscious co-operation is required. Host, or Chalice, is a complex of opportunities of experience, some physical but some spiritual, all equally determined by the Divine Will and all associated by that Will. Accuracy of thought requires us to recognize, in consequence, that, in each case, these opportunities constitute a single object.

If it is difficult to recognize this, it is only difficult because we tend to think of matter as peculiarly real, and of things spiritual either as less real or, at least, as some separate realm. Yet, unless we learn to think of all our experience as a unity,

The Real Presence

which is partially, but only partially, analyzable in terms of electrons, there is no room for either freedom or immortality. On the other hand, if we do so think of all experience (physical or spiritual) as a unity, we are justified, in all but the last resort, in our ordinary everyday habit of regarding opportunities of physical experience, and any opportunities of other experience which may be associated with these, as constituting the object in question. Even in the last resort, we must so regard an object if, as in the case of the Blessed Sacrament, it is the Will of God which attaches opportunities of spiritual experience to certain pre-existing opportunities of material experience. Before consecration the Host has certain opportunities of physical experience. We can see it as round and white; we can feel that it is round and hard; it affords physical nourishment. After consecration it is changed, not by any change in the opportunities of experience which previously constituted the object, not by any change in anything which can be correlated in terms of electrons, but by the addition of opportunities of spiritual experience in that, by devout communion, we are made partakers in Christ. We are guilty of gross materialism if we think of the Host, or Chalice, in terms only of their physical properties, as purely physical objects, rather than in terms also of the opportunities of spiritual experience they afford, opportunities which are no less fundamental, and which are infinitely more significant.

The bread and wine have been described as reordered, remade, changed, and transubstantiated in and through consecration. Enough has been said to explain and to justify our use of the first three of these terms. The complex of opportunities of experience which constitutes bread or wine is reordered, remade, and changed in and through the inclusion of opportunities of spiritual experience no less ultimate and associated no less ultimately than the pre-existing opportunities of physical experience. More must, however, be said in order to justify and to explain such use as can properly be made of the term "transubstantiated." Whatever be the difficulty, or impossibility, of applying the whole scholastic conception of substance and accidents to all sensible objects, the conception of an underlying non-material principle of unity is necessarily

The Real Presence

involved in the Christian conception, at least of the bodies of men and women. That is involved in the doctrine of their immortality when immortality is understood in the manner which we seek to express when we speak of the resurrection of the flesh. No one now holds that there will be a re-assembling of certain material particles. We do hold that behind and determining the physical objects which constitute our bodies lies a nature common in general character to men, but unique in detail to each individual; that this nature is something which we have through our generation here on earth; but that it is something which is ours to all eternity, and which requires that again in another world it will have no less, but more perfect expression. We are not merely spiritual beings. We are spiritual beings who have a particular nature. We came into existence and acquired at the same time that nature in and through the order in which we now live, through the fact that others had like natures and that these found expression, in objects, in that order. It is such expressions that we identify with the personalities in question. Not any and every complex of opportunities of experience which exists in whole or part because of your or my being and nature, even if the opportunities in question are determined and not merely determinable; but those immediate expressions of individual personalities which are secured when certain specific opportunities of experience, and the resulting complexes, have come into being as an immediate consequence of that law, of that determination of the Divine Will, which affords and conditions the actualization of essential elements in the nature of the personalities in question.

What we are bold to claim is that the sacramental gifts have this character. It is an essential part of the nature of man that he should be in relation to his fellows, influencing them and being influenced. He is a social animal. His nature involves of necessity ability for this; and, so long as man is in our order, his natural body affords the normal and necessary expression of this ability. In the case of our Lord, because he was a Divine Person, and in part because of his resurrection and ascension, this mutual relation involves something infinitely more than is involved between man and man. He is

The Real Presence

the Vine, we are the branches; the source and stay of our regenerate life; the Bread from Heaven.

It is, as we believe, an essential element in our Lord's humanity that he should be, not only the source, but the stay of the supernatural life of all the regenerate, and, therefore, of those on earth as well as those in heaven. So far as we on earth are concerned, the actualization of this necessary element is secured in and through the institution of the Eucharist, and, therefore, as we have seen, in and through certain visible objects which afford opportunities of spiritual as well as natural experience. The Divine Will determines that our Lord shall be the stay of our life and that he shall thus be so. It is not that there is any change in his nature. His incarnation determined once and for all, as an essential element in his human nature, that he should be the stay of our supernatural life. What was determined in and by the Divine institution of the Eucharist was merely the manner in which this is actualized in the regenerate order as it is on earth. Host and Chalice involve no change in our Lord's nature. They involve no "impanation." But each is an immediate expression of his being and nature, and a no less immediate expression than in his heavenly body, which also involves no new nature, but only the necessary actualization of elements in that nature which he took of Mary. We may speak of our Lord's sacramental body and of his natural body as we speak of his heavenly body and his natural body. We may thus distinguish different expressions of his humanity. But it is essential to recognize that if we are thinking not of the mode of expression, if we mean by "body" not a particular object, a particular complex of opportunities of experience, but that which determines and necessitates the existence of this, then there is but one such reality—namely, that nature which our Lord assumed at his incarnation and which is ever his. That nature found a necessary expression in accordance with natural law in his natural body; it finds a necessary expression in accordance with laws which, as yet, we do not know in his heavenly body; it finds a necessary expression sacramentally in Host, or Chalice, and that in a manner no less directly determined by the Divine Will. At consecration, bread and wine are not

The Real Presence

only changed, but they become objects which are what they are in virtue of, and because of, that same reality, that same sacred humanity, which lay no more directly behind our Lord's natural body and which lies no more directly behind his heavenly body. It is as asserting this truth that we can speak of the bread and wine as transubstantiated. On the other hand, that term cannot be accepted in any sense which "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament" by treating consecration as effecting a nature miracle rather than a miracle of grace, or which seeks to treat as *de fide* the scholastic theory as to the relations of accidents and substance after consecration, a theory which involves a particular philosophy and is open to grave objections. In common with the theologians of the Eastern Orthodox Church, we can accept the term "transubstantiated" as serving to express a truth which is of great importance; but, in common with these theologians, we may well rejoice that we are not committed to a particular philosophy, and to certain deductions from that philosophy, to the extent which is the case in the Roman Catholic Church.

Before passing, in conclusion, to deal specifically with the adorable presence which thus results, we would wish to safeguard Anglo-Catholic belief from misunderstanding on one point which is of great importance. It has been said earlier that the institution of the Eucharist determines and conditions the manner in which our Lord is given to be our spiritual food, thus actualizing an essential element in his nature. It does not follow that the grace which is received in communion is not given otherwise if or when communion is impossible, or if and when in all good faith men fail to recognize communion as the divinely appointed means of securing this grace. There is involved, however, that even such abnormal bestowal of grace is dependent on the fact that participation in the blessings of our Lord's sacrifice and in his life is obtainable through communion. It is as being the One Sufficient Sacrifice for sin that our Lord is given normally, or abnormally, to be the source and stay of our supernatural life. It is in and through the Eucharist that down the ages he consecrates his death to be our oblation; and, in consequence, any bestowal of the grace of communion, otherwise than by communion on bread and

The Real Presence

wine consecrated by his authority and on his behalf to be his Body and Blood, results from the fact that in the Eucharist he does thus make his Death to be our sacrifice, and from a general law of the Divine economy that God freely gives grace to men according to the measure of their ability to receive. The abnormal bestowal of the grace of communion, partial or complete, and any part played by objects in such bestowal, depends thus on that determination of the Divine Will, which determines the normal bestowal of that grace in communion, but does so mediately and not directly.

There remains the specific question of Eucharistic adoration. It is worth while to state the issue quite formally. When a complex of opportunities of experience, which constitutes an object, exists as a complex in immediate dependence on a law which directly determines the actualization of essential elements in our Lord's nature, does such a relation exist between that object and our Lord as to justify our identifying the object with him, in so far as such identification is involved in directing to the object those acts by which we express our adoration? In brief, when we genuflect are we guilty of idolatry? Now there is no doubt that our Lord is not corporeally present in the sense in which he was present in Galilee. The shape of the object, and all those other opportunities of experience which can be correlated in terms of electrons, are not determined by our Lord's human nature. In traditional language, our Lord is said to be present, but to be present under the forms of bread and wine. The difference is thus safeguarded; but an adorable presence is asserted. And this may, and indeed must, be asserted. The fundamental fact, which justified identification of our Lord's natural body with him, was that certain opportunities of experience were directly determined by laws which secured and conditioned the necessary actualization of essential elements in his nature, and that these laws directly determined the emergence of the complex as such and as including these opportunities. Whether or not *physical* opportunities are thus directly determined is a secondary matter, unless a supreme reality is given to physical experience. This fundamental consideration is no less true in regard to the Blessed Sacrament as it comes to be upon the

The Real Presence

Altar through the consecration of bread and wine. Here also the object comes to be what it is, and certain of the opportunities it affords come to be, through a law, through a determination of the Divine Will, which directly secures and conditions the necessary actualization of essential elements in our Lord's nature. It must be added that the Blessed Sacrament affords and mediates a far closer relation to our Lord than did his natural body. In such circumstances Eucharistic adoration is not only legitimate, it is the inevitable conclusion of the whole matter unless we allow our thought to be subtly influenced by current materialism. We engage in theology in order that we may adore, and theology justifies our adoration. But one consideration must ever be remembered. All adoration is in the last resort due to God and to God alone. It is because our Lord is very God as well as man that we both may, and must, adore.

Lastly, we are bound to maintain that the opportunity for adoration does not, if the Sacrament be reserved, pass with the ending of the Mass. If the Reserved Sacrament is capable of giving communion; if there is in the tabernacle That, the devout reception of which unites us to our Lord, then all which has been said of the Sacrament is true of the Sacrament when reserved.

“Thee we adore, O hidden Saviour, thee,
Who in thy Sacrament dost deign to be.”

The Approach to the Presence



The Holy Spirit and the Eucharist

By A. E. J. RAWLINSON

HE Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit, theologically and metaphysically considered, presents problems of a profound and difficult character which I do not ignore, but upon the discussion of which it is no part of my present purpose to embark. I shall assume simply that we worship one God in Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and I propose in the first instance to say a few words from the point of view of a New Testament student about the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit.

By the New Testament writers the Holy Spirit is regarded primarily as being the Divine Agent of inspiration, life, power, supernatural guidance, and grace. The Spirit is known, and his working is recognized, because men have experienced in manifest and manifold ways his activity and power. The Spirit, in other words, is the source of that element in the lives of Christians individually, and of the Christian Church corporately, which the Church itself recognizes as being plainly supernatural.

The Spirit, moreover, is the Spirit of unity. Gifts, supernatural endowments, capacities, functions, bestowed by the

Holy Spirit and the Eucharist

Spirit upon individuals, are all meant to be used, according to the teaching of St. Paul, in the interests of unity, and with a view to the edification or upbuilding in love of the one Church, which is the one body of the Christ. The Holy Spirit—and this is a point which has been recently emphasized afresh by the Presbyterian writer, Dr. Anderson Scott, of Cambridge—is the source and the living bond of the Christian *κοινωνία* or Fellowship.* St. Paul writes not merely of “unity of spirit” in the modern weakened sense of that phrase: he speaks rather of “*the* unity of *the* Spirit”;† and he would have Christians regard as “fruits” of the Spirit’s working and power not merely such apparently miraculous phenomena as inspired prophecy, speaking with tongues, and the rest, but such virtues and graces as love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, and self-control,‡ which to his thinking are in the end more important and not less supernatural than the gifts which were over-valued at Corinth. Without charity or love, the culmination and crown of them all, there is no other “gift” which is of any significance or value whatsoever.§

I have begun in this way, because I desire to say a few words about a certain theory of ministry. It has been held by some scholars that the ministry of the Church was not originally official, but “charismatic”; by which it is meant that in the first days of the Church the authority to minister, and among other things to celebrate the Eucharist, was dependent not upon ordination, but upon the possession by individuals of a “charisma,” or “gift” of the Spirit, which the Church recognized but did not bestow. It is impossible to prove upon the basis of historical evidence that the Eucharist was never in early times celebrated by unordained men; and the early document known as the *Didache* contains some evidence which is calculated, as far as it goes, to suggest that the Eucharist was occasionally celebrated by “prophets.” With regard to this theory I would say certain things.

In the first place, what is described as the “charismatic”

* C. A. Anderson Scott, “Christianity according to St. Paul,” pp. 158 *sq.*

† Eph. iv. 3.

‡ Gal. v. 22.

§ 1 Cor. 13.

The Approach to the Presence

theory of ministry, in so far as there is justification for it at all, appears to me to involve a one-sided and disproportionate emphasis upon certain aspects of the New Testament evidence, to the exclusion of others; and those who in modern times are the advocates of a "prophetic," as contrasted with an "institutional," system of ministry are really attempting (to adapt some words of the present Dean of Wells) "to live, so to speak, in the apostolic age without the unifying control of the Apostles."

In the second place (as the same theologian has pointed out) the antithesis suggested by the contrasted use of the terms "charismatic" and "institutional" is a thoroughly false one. St. Paul believed that every Christian, as such, had his "grace-gift" from God.* Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, solemnly ordained by the laying on of hands, have as clear a right to be called "charismatic" as has anybody else. As the Dean remarks, it is inconceivable that St. Paul "should have supposed that a Bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon could fulfil his function, if no 'charisma' were his to enable him";† and, indeed, in the Pastoral Epistles St. Timothy is enjoined to "stir up" the "charisma" which is in him, and which was given him through the laying on of hands.‡

In the third place—and this is perhaps a more important point still—the Church corporately, upon any adequate theological theory, is under the guidance and inspiration of the Spirit; and the development from apostolic beginnings of the episcopate and priesthood, and the relative decline of the supposed primitive *régime* of free prophecy, must itself (I would suggest) be ascribed to the inspiration and guidance of the same Spirit by whom the prophets themselves were inspired. The "goodly fellowship of the prophets" has never wholly died out in the Church, and men prophetically inspired to be the bearers of a religious message for their brethren have been in some cases clergy, and in some cases laymen. With an Old Testament writer we may say, "Would God that all the

* 1 Cor. vii. 7.

† "Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry," edited by the late Dr. H. B. Swete, p. 75.

‡ 2 Tim. i. 6; cf. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Holy Spirit and the Eucharist

Lord's people were prophets."* We may believe, nevertheless, that the Church, taught by the Spirit, has been right in determining that the minister who celebrates the Eucharist, and who in so doing is the representative agent at once of the Church and of the Lord of the Church, shall act not merely in virtue of any claim which he may possess to be regarded as a man of prophetic gifts or conspicuous power, but in virtue primarily of an authority bestowed by the Spirit through the laying on of hands at his ordination. According to the Catholic or "institutional" conception of the ministry, the purely personal "gifts" and qualifications of the minister are in strictness irrelevant. The celebrant acts, not in virtue of them, but in virtue of his office. At the same time, it must be claimed that his office itself is essentially "charismatic," that the ministry is the gift of God to his Church, and that it is in the power of the Spirit that the ordained minister is enabled to act.

I pass now to a different theme altogether. It is maintained in much modern theological literature that according to the real thought (if not also actually according to the language) of the writers of several of the New Testament books the conceptions of the risen Christ and of the Holy Spirit are for all practical purposes one and the same. St. Paul in a number of passages ascribes functions to Christ which he elsewhere ascribes to the Spirit, and the words "Now the Lord is the Spirit" are not infrequently quoted as pointing to a clear and explicit identification of the two. I have given expression elsewhere to my conviction that this view is mistaken, and that St. Paul's real thought is more nearly expressed by the statement that the risen Christ indwells his Church through the Spirit.† The Spirit, according to the thought of the New Testament writers, must, I believe, be regarded as actualizing and making real in the hearts of believers and in the fellowship of the Christian Society the presence of Christ, who, except in so far as he is thus operative in the Church through the Spirit, is to be thought of (to use the language of metaphor and symbol) as being "seated at the right hand of God." The

* Num. xi. 29.

† 2 Cor. iii. 17.

† A. E. J. Rawlinson, "The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ," pp. 158 *sq.*

The Approach to the Presence

distinction, familiar to later Christian theology, and already more or less manifest in the language of the New Testament, between the Lord and the Spirit is, I believe, more than a verbal one. We hold communion with Christ: we are inspired by the Spirit. It is through the operation of the Spirit that we are enabled to know Christ, or to call Jesus Lord; but the Lord and the Spirit are distinct. There is, I think, a real and actual basis in experience (quite apart from the mere language of Scripture) for the kind of distinction which the mind of the Church, under the guidance of the Spirit himself, came eventually to draw more and more clearly between the Spirit and Christ, while at the same time affirming the unity of Both with the Father in the ultimate mystery of the Being of God.

My third and final theme—that of the relation of the Spirit to the Eucharist—may perhaps usefully be introduced by a reference to certain words which in the Fourth Gospel are ascribed to the Lord Jesus himself. The Lord in that Gospel is represented as having prophetically foreshadowed, in the course of a conversation with a woman of Samaria, the coming into the world of a new kind of worship. It is a worship no longer in any sense limited to a particular sanctuary or shrine. And it is a worship which is real, in a sense in which the older worship was not. It is described as a worship of God “in spirit and in truth”^{*}—that is to say, the new worship stands, as contrasted with the old, upon a higher level of reality and truth, for the reason that it is based upon a fuller revelation, and, indeed, upon the alone finally adequate revelation, of the divine grace, truth, and power. The Church, taught and indwelt by the Spirit, has found access to the Father through Christ, who in this same Gospel is represented as saying emphatically: “I am the Way.”[†] Through the Lord Jesus Christ, it is implied, and in fellowship with him through the Spirit, is the true living reality of worship.

Of such worship, the true worship, offered by Christians through Christ to the Father in the power of the Spirit, the

^{*} John iv. 23 *sq.*

[†] John xiv. 6.

Holy Spirit and the Eucharist

Holy Eucharist is the centre and core. It is offered in the power of the Spirit, and the Holy Spirit, here as elsewhere, is the Source and the inspiring Agent of all true Christian prayer. It would be an interesting and profitable task to draw out and to exhibit the parallelism between the character and mind of the Spirit as expressed and reflected in the utterances of the New Testament, and the expression of the character and mind of the same Spirit in the actual language of Christian liturgies. Something along these lines has, indeed, recently been attempted by a group of writers who are connected with the so-called "liturgical movement" in Southern Germany.* It is a fruitful and valuable mode of approach, though I cannot dilate upon it now.

It is not, however, the only sense in which it has been commonly held by theologians that in the Church's Eucharistic action the Holy Spirit is concerned. The Holy Spirit, it has been maintained, is not only the Inspirer of Christian liturgical prayer, and the Source of the reality and power of such prayers as are genuinely and effectively offered. He is also (it has been believed) the Divine Agent of whatever spiritual change is effected in the significance of the Elements as the result of their consecration, and in response to the prayers of the Church. That a spiritual change of some kind is effected appears to me to be the real conviction of practically all communicants of all "schools of thought"; if only for the reason that no one (so far as I am aware) would believe that he had genuinely received Holy Communion, if he merely attended the liturgy and proceeded (instead of going up to the altar rails to receive) to consume privately a piece of unconsecrated bread. There is divergence of view within the Church as to what the precise change is which is effected; but there is general and widespread agreement (I would suggest) that consecration is necessary, and that *some* change is involved. I am persuaded that the best Christian theology refers instinctively the effects of consecration (however precisely they are to be defined or understood) to the work of the Spirit.

I make this statement deliberately, notwithstanding the

* See especially Guardini, "Vom Geist der Liturgie" (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1922).

The Approach to the Presence

well-known fact that in the actual language of the New Testament there is explicit reference made to the work of the Spirit only as the Inspirer either of Christians individually or of the Christian Church as a corporate whole. It has been pointed out by Bishop Gore and others that the cosmic functions associated, for example, with the idea of the universal activity of God in Nature, which in the Old Testament and in the deuterocanonical Book of Wisdom are ascribed to the Spirit, are in the New Testament ascribed to the Logos or Word;* and it has been argued from this that the Holy Spirit is the Consecrator only of persons, and not of things. I can only express my conviction that, from the point of view of a thought-out Christian theology, the limitation implied by this statement is not to be maintained. I believe that the Word of God becomes operative through the active Energy of the Divine Spirit, that the activity of the Holy Spirit is effective throughout the length and breadth of the creation, and that whatever is wrought by the power of God in the Holy Communion is wrought through the Spirit's agency and power. There was admittedly in early times some confusion in the mind of the Church between the functions of the Holy Spirit and those of the Word, a confusion which was not definitely cleared up until after Nicæa, when the foundations of a more fully thought-out Trinitarian doctrine were laid by the group of writers who are known as the Cappadocian Fathers. It is this confusion, I think, which accounts for the fact that the earliest form of liturgical invocation or *epiclesis* of which we have evidence—that, namely, which is contained in the Sacramentary of Serapion—is rather an *epiclesis* of the Logos than in the proper sense an *epiclesis* of the Spirit. The Church's eventual doctrine, as it came to prevail more particularly in the Eastern part of Christendom, and as it finds devotional expression in the liturgies of the East, is the doctrine to which utterance is given in a familiar passage of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: "We call upon God, who loves man, to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the gifts now before him, that he may make the bread to be the Body of Christ and

* Gore, "The Holy Spirit and the Church," p. 9.

Holy Spirit and the Eucharist

the wine the Blood of Christ: for assuredly whatsoever the Holy Spirit has touched is sanctified and changed.”* I would submit that it is precisely this doctrine—the doctrine that whatever change is effected in the significance and efficacy of the Eucharistic elements, as the result of which they become, in whatever sense, Christ’s Body and Christ’s Blood, is a change wholly wrought by the activity of God through the Spirit in response to the prayers of the Church—it is this doctrine which is the true safeguard of Christian Eucharistic belief against any kind of association with such ideas as might properly be called magical.

I have long been accustomed to think, rightly or wrongly, that the liturgy contained in our present English Prayer Book (more particularly if we take into account the extraordinarily jejune provision which it makes for a supplementary consecration to be effected by means of a bare recital of our Lord’s words of institution) is perhaps more immediately open to magical misunderstandings than any other liturgy which is known to me. A simple mind, I believe, might very easily run away with the idea that the Church teaches that consecration is effected by means of the recital over the elements of the words of our Lord as a kind of charm. It is for this reason that I personally would welcome the new alternative liturgy of the Deposited Book, which at length brings us into line not only with our brethren of the Orthodox Church of the East, but with those also who are in communion with us in Scotland, and in the United States of America, and in South Africa. The new liturgy is, to my mind, an enormous improvement.

I am aware that in saying this I am saying something with which not everyone who is here present will be disposed to agree. There are those who are wedded to what are known as Western ideas, and who do not desire any change. But I would point out that from a doctrinal point of view there is in any case little ultimate difference. I suppose that many Western theologians, despite the fact that the words of the canon are in form a prayer addressed to the Father, have been

* Cyril of Jerusalem, “*Catech. Mystag.*,” v. 7.

The Approach to the Presence

accustomed to think of the Lord Jesus himself as being the true Consecrator of the Eucharistic gifts. We are sometimes told that the priest who utters the words of the canon is speaking at once in the person of the Church and in the person of Christ, that it is Christ himself ultimately who utters the words, and that it is his word of power which makes the elements to be what they are; and no one can deny that that is a noble and Christian belief. I would, however, point out that, even upon this theory of consecration, it is of importance to remember that the Christ who thus utters the words is himself the Anointed of the Spirit, and that it is in the power of the Spirit that he speaks. Of his life, as incarnate upon earth, it is written that it was in the power of the Spirit that he was enabled to exorcize demons,* and that it was because the Father had given unto him the Spirit without measure that he was enabled to speak words such as "never man spake," words which the Church recognizes as being the utterances of God.† I would suggest, then, that in the Holy Eucharist also, if his words are with power, it is because they are words uttered in the power of the Spirit. But having said this, I am nevertheless constrained to repeat in this connection my own personal preference for what I suppose to be the Eastern, as contrasted with the specifically Western, conception of the *modus operandi* of Eucharistic consecration. I believe that the Eastern tradition is theologically right in laying the emphasis upon the effectual power of the Holy Spirit, and that the structure of the proposed new consecratory prayer in the alternative liturgy contained in the Deposited Book, which proceeds, after an address of praise to the Father, to an *anamnesis* or commemoration of the work of the Son, and then to the prayer that God with his Holy and life-giving Spirit may bless and sanctify the Eucharistic gifts that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, is, from the point of view of theology and right reason, a notable advance upon anything which the Church of England has possessed hitherto.

* Matt. xii. 28.

† John iii. 34; cf. John vii. 46.

Christian Priesthood

By CHARLES SCOTT GILLET

I

THE saddest reflection for all the children of the Church in England is that they are not yet—and for many years to come, perhaps, dare hardly hope to be—wholly “of one mind” in their “house.” But it is a happy and hopeful sign, I think, that the field of conflict is being gradually narrowed. Our controversies are still sharp and serious, but they are not so many. Within the lifetime of living men, some have been settled by the mere growth of knowledge; some have lost all their meaning and relevance by the mere lapse of time; some were the fruit of prejudices or misunderstandings now dissipated; yet more have been seen to have, at most, a subsidiary and derivative importance—to be aspects (so to speak) or fragments of some primary, some more central, problem whose solution would condition and include their own. Thus, in regard to the subject now before us, it is no longer demanded of a speaker that he should discuss at length whether the Catholic Church is a visible or an invisible Society; for there remains only a small and dwindling band of Christians who would not admit that it is both. More and more Christians would admit not only that that Church, in so far as it is a visible corporate body, must needs be organized and must needs have officers for its organization, but also that the view of its character and its claims which was held by the Apostles and their converts was, in historical fact, that which in our current discussions would be called the “Catholic” view. Indeed,

The Approach to the Presence

many educated observers (in particular, many modern students of psychology) who would certainly regard that view as erroneous, do, nevertheless, praise handsomely enough the Catholic's grasp of the idea of institutional and corporate unity as generating a disciplined enthusiasm and effectiveness hardly to be attained by other means. And yet the real controversy remains unsettled. For the eulogist, however complimentary to the Church and its ordered Ministry, is merely acknowledging that organization is in practice a condition and a means of usefulness—as who should be singing to a bridegroom the praises of marriage and the home, on the score that he will find his wardrobe the better cared for and his meals the more punctually prepared! The Catholic's *central* claim is quite remote from this; being no less than that the Ministerial government of the Church was actually given to it by God; that its institution was neither accidental nor due merely to the practical exigencies of a particular moment in its early history, but had—and has—the immediate and continuous sanction of a divine commission.

It is clear that that claim implies certain definite and distinctive beliefs, both historical and doctrinal.

Historically, we believe that the words and actions of Christ himself and of his Apostles, as the New Testament records them, are evidence that he instituted not only a stewardship of grace, but grades and varieties of function and service amongst the stewards: a hierarchy recognized and accepted by the whole Apostolic Church. We believe, further, that he provided not merely a temporary Ministry divinely qualified and commissioned to serve immediate evangelistic needs, but a means whereby the whole Church could have assured possession, for all time, of a Ministry having that same qualification and commission continuously unchallengeable and unimpaired; that he instituted for the Church such an instrument for the exercise of its representative and redemptive function in the world as should be no less permanent than that function itself; and, finally, that such an instrument did, as a fact of history, emerge and become established, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, in the three offices of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon.

Christian Priesthood

Doctrinally, we believe that each minister, as being authorized to represent God to man and man to God in functions distinct from those which are common to all baptized Christians, receives the Holy Ghost in a special way for this special work: that he receives from God, that is, in the Sacrament of Holy Order a specific endowment for a specific purpose, and that, since the "character" conferred by that Sacrament is "indelible," when once he has received episcopal ordination he cannot be ordained again.

Now it is clearly impossible for me to discuss or defend in detail the assumptions on which these claims are based. That has been done with expert thoroughness and elaboration by many distinguished theologians, whose books are easily available. I would wish rather to remind you that, in the matter of the *historical* claim, it is not essential to its establishment that we should offer dogmatic solutions to every historical problem. What was the exact nature of the office held by Timothy and Titus? Was it local or general in its exercise? How precisely is the *λειτουργία τῶν προφητῶν*, of which the Didache tells us, to be interpreted? Were all presbyters also bishops in Apostolic times? At what date and by what stages did the title *ἐπίσκοπος* come to be used in its ultimately restricted sense? These and a hundred other questions of historical detail have not yet been, and perhaps will never be, definitely and finally settled. Similarly, we are in no way bound to assert that the early Church as a whole was committed to any particular theory of the reasons for the emergence of the threefold Ministry, or, indeed, had any clear perception of its importance in the divine economy. It is probable that the Apostles themselves, in their ordinations to the offices from which its final form was developed, were conscious only of a desire to meet obvious and immediate needs. And as with our historical, so also with our *doctrinal* belief. I do not think we need, even if we dare attempt, any exact and rigid definition of the nature and effects of the grace of Holy Order. We are not competent to determine narrowly the mutual relation and interdependence of the two qualifications—the individual gift from God and the official authorization by men: the personal endowment and the

The Approach to the Presence

ecclesiastical commission. We may justly claim that both are needed and both received: that the Church commissions its ministers because Christ has done so: that God empowers the priest because he is chosen to serve and represent the people. I would maintain, in short, that we have neither need nor warrant to tie ourselves to any unalterable or mechanical theory of "succession" or "transmission," by which to account for or exactly to trace and analyze the emergence of the Apostolic Ministry as Catholics accept and believe in it. The important point is that such a Ministry did in fact emerge: that it inherits the authority and commission of the government originally instituted, as having preserved with that government a clear historical continuity; and that its unanimous adoption in all Christian communities at a very early date, together with its unshaken stability and persistence up to the present time, points irresistibly to a divine purpose in its origin and a divine guidance in its development.

II

Now when we examine the attacks which have been made upon what is essential (as distinct from what is merely subsidiary or corroborative) in the Catholic doctrine of the Priesthood, they will be seen to have originated in a most honourable insistence—an insistence which has constituted the real strength of Protestantism from its beginning—upon three very important principles: (1) That "Sacerdotalism" is the greatest of all dangers to individual Christians and to the cause of Christ; (2) that no need is more clamorous than the need of unity among Christian people; and (3) that the highest possible moral and spiritual standard must be demanded of and maintained by the Christian Minister. I do not doubt that it is because they fear that the acceptance of the Catholic claim may serve to obscure or belittle these principles that Protestants in every generation have so firmly and so fiercely resisted it. I would ask you, therefore, to consider very briefly whether, if that claim be fully apprehended and rightly interpreted, these forebodings, though

Christian Priesthood

wholly genuine and intelligible, are not in fact unwarranted and unnecessary.

1. *Sacerdotalism*.—This word, as applied to the Catholic doctrine of the Priesthood, may cover many kinds of accusation. If it is a charge that we believe the Church to have a sacerdotal character and a sacerdotal system, we admit it eagerly. That a sacrifice is the central fact of our religion; that Christ's own sacrifice upon the Cross summed up all earlier sacrifices; that by its virtue every human being is empowered to offer his own life as a sacrifice to God—so much is common ground to all of us. It is true that, by theory and tradition, our opponents would dispute our further claim that the Eucharist (like the Last Supper) has the most intimately interdependent connection with the sacrifice of Calvary; and yet I believe that even of this perennial controversy the field is become narrower and the bitterness less. There are not now, I think, many "Evangelicals" who would deny that in the apostolic age the principle of sacrificial worship was accepted as normal to Christianity and given a normal ritual expression, or that the Eucharist is, in some real sense, the Christian's sacrifice. But the Catholic religion is "woven without seam"; we cannot tear from the texture of it this fragment or that and leave the strength of the whole fabric unimpaired. And the centrality of sacrifice in Christian doctrine as manifested in the Eucharist as the central sacrificial act of Christian worship, does clearly mean that the celebrant ministers of the Lord's Supper are priests in fact, whatever—at various periods and for various reasons—they may have been in name.* In this sense, then, as in others, "it is the Mass that matters." For the institution of a rite whereby we may—not reiterate, but appropriate and "perceive the fruits of" (and, in that sense, complete) a sacrifice which was, in its essence, independent of time and place: a rite which is to be continued always and everywhere "until his coming again," involves the institution also of a means divinely sanctioned whereby that rite shall be duly, orderly, and permanently cele-

* For English Christians it is significant that those English Reformers who (after the example of Bucer) would gladly have seen the word expunged from our Ordinal were not allowed to have their way.

The Approach to the Presence

brated. Thus, although—as Dr. Moberly warned us thirty years ago*—we may not arbitrarily isolate the different functions of the Christian pastorate, yet we believe that the Apostles were divinely inspired, and that to celebrate and to ordain for celebrating the Holy Mysteries are two central corporate functions of the Church of Christ, and that for their fulfilment (even though not for that alone) the emergence and development of the Christian Ministry was sanctioned and directed by the Holy Ghost.†

Now in regard to this—which I call the Catholic—belief about the Priesthood, I am not now primarily concerned to argue that it is true; I am concerned rather to assert that, when it is rightly understood, the sacerdotalism which it involves is not the sacerdotalism of which it is popularly accused.

The word “magic,” for example, is meaningless in its connection; for magic means such a mechanical coercion of the divine by the human will as no sacramental doctrine imaginable by any educated Christian could conceivably embrace.‡

Again, it is true that, by a special grace received, the Priest represents Christ as the giver of divine gifts, as teaching and feeding the flock, in a sense and manner different from that in which the whole Church is pledged to represent him to the world; but this has never meant, and can never mean, that the unique High-Priesthood of our Lord himself is belittled or ignored. It is just because, and only because, the divine Priesthood is supreme, and the divine commission directly given, that the human Priest dare meddle with these mysteries at all.§

* Dr. R. C. Moberly, “Ministerial Priesthood.” Murray, 1897.

† A detailed exposition of this thesis is to be found in vol. ii. of Dr. Hamilton’s “The People of God.” Oxford University Press, 1912.

‡ “It is doubtless the fear of priestly power and its intrusion into politics which has determined (from, say, Wyclif until now) the quite unphilosophical ‘magic’ scare among so many Protestants” (Baron F. von Hügel: “Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion.” Dent, 1921).

§ All sacramental acts have a heavenly and an earthly side; and though many Christian Fathers will use of priests or bishops such words as “tradere Spiritum Sanctum” or “conficere corpus Christi”

Christian Priesthood

Similarly, it is quite untrue that the ordained Priest "comes between" the individual soul and God, save in the very sense in which Christ himself thus "came between," to give still easier access. All Christians are priests partaking of his Priesthood: the whole Church is to be Christ's representative agent and instrument in the world; and the official Ministry is but the organ through which they are enabled freely and surely to fulfil their proper function. The "Priesthood of the laity" does not exclude but actually involves a ministerial Priesthood, through which it is formally manifested and expressed.*

2. *Christian Unity*.—Let us turn, then, to the second charge—the charge that the stiffness and narrowness of our doctrine is a hurt and hindrance to the unity of Christendom. The true unity of Christians, we are to understand, is a *spiritual* thing—a thing which no kind or form of organization can concern or affect. Why, then (it is asked of us), do you talk pedantically of "valid" and "invalid" Eucharists? Why do you not rather welcome generously such unhampered intercommunion between all separated Christians as alone can give us any hope of bringing or keeping them together? Dare you say that thousands of Nonconformists have not received God's grace through sacraments administered by men whom no Bishop has ordained? that thousands have not received it apart from any sacraments at all? Dare you thus arrogantly measure the mind of God by your traditions, or so set limits to the range and method of his working?

And to all this I think our answer is clear. The unity of the

(*vide* F. W. Puller, "Orders and Jurisdiction," pp. 52, 53), yet there is not one of them but could use the words of Hooker—"O wretched blindness if we admire not so great a power: more wretched if we consider it aught, and, notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it" ("Ecclesiastical Polity," V., lxxvii. 1).

* The whole Gospel, the whole story of man's redemption and his hope, is the story of mediation—of an approach to God through human agency; and to repudiate the official Priesthood of the Church is either to forget the oneness of all its members in the one Mediator, or foolishly to confound an equality of spiritual heritage with an identity of ecclesiastical function. It is permissible also to point out the strange lapse of logic by which some Protestants will attack the Catholic theory of the ministry, first on the ground that no one can share the Priesthood of Christ, and then on the ground that it is shared by every Christian.

The Approach to the Presence

Church is indeed a spiritual unity: it is grounded in the one Life of the ascended Christ, imparted by the one eternal Spirit. And yet the Church on earth is visible, and in its earthly aspect that unity must be organic—its essence the mutual love and service of its members within the visible society, its fruit the conversion of the visible world outside. And so St. Paul, after his great statement of Christian unity to the Ephesians, goes on at once to speak of the Ministry in its ordered grades and functions as given for this very thing—"the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ till we all attain unto the unity of the faith" (Eph. iv. 11-13). And since, above all things, the Lord's Supper is the sacramental expression of this organic unity (so that no Eucharist can be "solitary," but is the act of the whole Church, the bond between all—both living and departed—whom Christ has redeemed), it is in this great act especially that the Church dare tolerate no uncertainty or confusion—must be wholly satisfied that its performance is rightly ordered and its ministers duly accredited. If there exist such conditions to be fulfilled, the word "validity" does no more than describe their fulfilment. For us, then, the Episcopate and the Priesthood are not a bar to Christian unity: they are the very ground and centre of it. That we do not give an equal recognition to other Ministries does not mean that we deny that grace is given through their agency or that God can work his own will in ways of his own choosing; it means that *for us* there is no choice.* I do not doubt that if we had dared to be "generous" with our trust, had tried to "heal the hurt" of God's people "lightly, saying Peace, peace, when there is no peace," the way of many

* Two types of theological conundrum are popular in some circles. One (in which a party of shipwrecked communicants usually figures) asks whether there are not exceptional emergencies which a strict application of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession would fail to meet. The other asks *what precisely happens* at a Communion service celebrated in good faith by a layman or a Nonconformist minister. The answer to the first is that there probably are such emergencies. They are *ex hypothesi* abnormal, and therefore irrelevant; and no deductions from them condemnatory of the doctrine itself are legitimate. The answer to the second is that we do not know.

Christian Priesthood

a missionary would be made far easier, many of his perplexities far more smoothly solved. But this at least is certain: that the loss by this or that community of Christians of the Catholic Ministry, in its historic form, has meant for Christendom not the strength and freedom of a spiritual unity, but a most pitiful confusion and weakness: a tragedy of heresies and heartburnings, of crippled energies and divided counsels and conflicting aims.

It is true that the Church of England has never committed its members to any particular theory of episcopal succession, nor formulated any particular theory of the grace mediated by non-episcopal Ministries; but at a Church Congress seventeen years ago Bishop Gore said that on the day when any non-episcopally ordained Minister was formally allowed, within the Anglican communion, to celebrate the Eucharist, the Anglican communion would be rent in twain; and if we remember what the claim of that communion is: if we do not forget the Church of Rome and the Church of the East and the ground on which it can ever hope to meet them: if, in short, we realize what, in its reality and completeness, the reunion of Christendom must mean, we cannot doubt that what he said was true.

3. *The Priestly Life*.—And, lastly, what shall we say of the charge that our doctrine would lessen for the priest the sense of his personal obligation, or lower the standard demanded of him in his moral and spiritual life? Here again I think our answer is clear. We do, indeed, hold that the unworthiness of the Minister cannot hinder the effect of the Sacrament; for on no other principle could the Christian layman be assured that he shall receive the covenanted gifts of grace as God has promised and appointed them. On no other principle, indeed, would any man dare to accept the priestly office; for the worthiest would be the most conscious of his unworthiness.* Neither do we deny that there are moral dangers and temptations which especially beset the Christian

* The principle applies, of course, to the officers of a State no less than to those of a Church (*cf.* St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 1-6). Our Lord himself applied it, in a still closer parallel, to the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3).

The Approach to the Presence

minister—a kind of legalism and officiousness, a kind of arrogance, a kind of hardness and narrowness of mind; and if in every office and profession you may find a Bumble, he is doubtless least tolerable when found in the Ministry of the Church. But these vices are not confined to men who hold a particular doctrine of the sacraments, or banished merely by rejecting it: the prophet or the preacher may contract them no less easily than the priest. And, indeed, the very height and boldness of the priest's own claim—that his office is not from men but God, that its authority is not modified by his own virtues or his own defects, that Christ is the fount of all his dignity, this in itself—symbolized and emphasized as it is by the official ritual and the official dress—must school him (more sternly the more stoutly he asserts it) to an ever-deepening humility and self-distrust.

And I do not think it doubtful that the march of the Catholic Movement in the English Church—the wider acceptance of Catholic doctrine and Catholic order—has, in fact, not lowered but incalculably heightened, for the English Priesthood, the standard and ideal of the priestly life. It is no accident that more and more of the men who are ordained to the Sacred Ministry in our communion have set for themselves a sternly ordered life of discipline and devotion. Their rule of prayer and penance, their yearly period of Retreat, their daily Mass, their deliberate abjuring of marriage*—all this has not come by the formal teaching of Anglican seminaries, or the force of any Anglican convention; it has

* I am not asserting either that the custom in this country of the priest's daily Mass is, even for the Roman Priesthood, of more than comparatively recent origin, or that the English Church was wrong to abrogate the rule of compulsory celibacy for its clergy. My point is merely that both these tendencies or instincts spring, not from sacerdotal arrogance, but from a genuine eagerness to deepen devotion and grow in holiness. That eagerness would be praiseworthy, even if the particular form of its expression were undesirable. It may be noted also that there is a curious inconsistency between the suspicion shown by the older type of Protestantism of celibacy, monasticism, and similar *Catholic* expressions of other-worldliness, and its tolerance of a *Puritan* asceticism as expressed in a condemnation of dancing, play-going, and the use of fermented liquor. Ultimately the distinction is based on a prejudice rather than a principle.

Christian Priesthood

come by the secret pressure and influence of a great idea—the Catholic idea of a divine commission, of a Priesthood moulded upon the pattern of the Priesthood of Christ himself. Here, if nowhere else, in the society of our modern world, *Noblesse oblige*. Nowhere but here—in the Priesthood conceived as the Catholic Church conceives it—may a man find lowliness so blended with a royal dignity, a pride so rooted in self-sacrifice, a life so humbling and so supremely happy.



The Meaning of the Presence



Preparation for Communion

By FRANCIS UNDERHILL



THE Church of England lays down four points as necessary in preparation for receiving Holy Communion.

“What is required of them who come to the Lord’s Supper?”

“To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God’s mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.”

It is all too plain that in twenty minutes I can do little more than suggest headings for thought on subjects so vast as these, while dwelling in some slight detail on one or two matters of difficulty which arise.

“““

I. PENITENCE

And first, Repentance. You will notice that the Catechism, in accordance with Christian tradition, puts this first among the requirements for a devout preparation for the Sacrament. “To examine themselves, whether they repent them of their former sins.” In this the Church is strongly supported both by

Preparation for Communion

the Scriptures and by the rest of the Book of Common Prayer. The peculiar solemnity of the accounts of the institution of the Holy Communion, given to us by the Synoptists and St. Paul, make perfectly clear to us the importance attached by the Church from the first to the Sacrament, and the great peril of unworthy reception. But I need not press the general point of our duty to make the best possible repentance in preparation for our Communion. The question which must of necessity arise here in our day and circumstances is that of "going to Confession," as it is popularly expressed; more theologically, the use of the Sacrament of Penance. This matter has come to be one of the keenest controversies known to Christian history, especially in the Church of England. It is natural enough that it should be so; for the act of making one's Confession is a supreme surrender of the individual will to the judgment of the Church. It is true that the controversy is clearing up. I think most people, at least most people whose thoughts are up-to-date, have abandoned the old-fashioned prejudice against Confession in general. They consider that in some circumstances, at least, it is good and necessary.

Two considerations arise here for members of the English Church. First, that the Prayer-Book, revised and unrevised, encourages in case of need private Confession in the presence of a priest; and, secondly, that it does not make it compulsory. There is no need to tell an Englishman that he is not compelled to "go to Confession"; he knows that perfectly well. But surely this is not the real issue. Whether it is a good or a bad thing that Confession should be compulsory is an arguable point, which has, in fact, been endlessly argued. What a serious Christian who wishes to live the Catholic life in its fulness has to ask himself is not "Must I go to Confession?" but, "Is it the Will of God for me that I should make this great surrender? Shall I in this way best find and express the penitence which will help to fit me for union with God?"

There are three stages here. It may help us to deepen our penitence if we think of them a little carefully. There is in Confession the clearing of ourselves; the definite desire to cleanse the life of those elements which by defiling it make it unfit for union with God. In order that this clearing may

The Meaning of the Presence

be as complete as possible, we undergo the process known as "Self-examination," by which we face ourselves unflinchingly, that we may find out what in us is displeasing to God. This is followed by the act of Confession. And here it is necessary to remind ourselves of an important fact. The large majority of Christians in the world to-day understand by the term Confession the telling out of our sins privately in the presence of the priest, who is at once the minister of God and the representative of the whole Church. There normally follows upon such Confession sacramental Absolution, conveyed as in the other sacraments by an outward sign—in this case the word spoken—to assure of our forgiveness, and our restoration to the life of Grace. The validity of our forgiveness, however, depends upon our sincere intention to live better. But there is more than that. In Absolution strength is given by God, as we believe, to enable us, the past being put away, to amend our life as we purpose to do. Thus we are prepared by the deepest repentance of which we are capable, not only for a holier life, but for the supreme act of union with Christ. We are doubly fortified to go forward in confident resistance against the attacks of temptation, and in a sincere resolve to be more wholly devoted to God's service and conformed to his Will.

II. FASTING COMMUNION

We must now pass on to another disciplinary aspect of our preparation for Holy Communion. The origin of Fasting Communion—that is, of receiving the Holy Sacrament as the first food of the day—is obscure; but it certainly goes back into the early ages of the Christian Church. It is very ancient, though it does not belong to the first days of all. It would appear to have arisen from a desire to safeguard the act of Communion and to surround it with the sense of quiet and the acceptance of self-denial. It has been observed for many centuries, and is still observed to-day by the great majority of living Christians. It is recognized by a large and growing number of members of the Anglican Communion.

The rule of Fasting Communion, as I have said, is ancient, widespread, and valuable; it has long commanded the obedi-

Preparation for Communion

ence of the faithful in East and West; it deserves the most serious consideration of those who wish to live the Catholic life of obedience to authority. Salutary discipline is much to be desired in these days. We should surely wish to surround our Communion with every element which can make it for us the greatest moment in life. We are far too apt to seek in our religion the minimum of discipline combined with the maximum of comfort. Here is a point at which in deference to the Church Catholic we can bring in something of the bracing air we need. There are too many young and healthy persons who "come late," or take the comfortable and unnecessary cup of tea, who could and ought to come fasting.

Yet we can never forget that there are people who by reason of weak health really cannot, for a time or permanently, go out in the early morning without some food. It is no answer to say to many of these persons that they can receive Communion at home; circumstances would make such reception too infrequent. Still more difficult is the advice to make spiritual Communion. We must recognize that for many simple souls the idea of a spiritual Communion is one which is remote, and requires a height of apprehension which they cannot reach. Surely this is why our Lord instituted the Sacrament.

Are we to say, then, that such persons must not receive Sacramental Communion, or must receive only very infrequently? I cannot think so. Other parts of the Church have found it necessary to make provision for dispensation in certain circumstances from the strict rule of Fasting Communion. We are bound to think out this matter corporately as Anglo-Catholics. Historically and ecclesiastically it is a knotty problem, and we would ask those who regard the whole question as a ridiculously small one to try to realize that there are persons who are conscientiously troubled by it. I do not suggest at the moment a solution of the problem; it is, in fact, to-day engaging the attention of Anglo-Catholic theologians. It is time, however, that tender consciences were in some way relieved from what is to them a burden and a perplexity.

I regret that it has been necessary to take up so much of my short time on these two matters. You will recognize, how-

The Meaning of the Presence

ever, that the circumstances of the day and the expectation both of Anglo-Catholics and of other members of the Church of England have made it inevitable that I should do so.

III. CHARITY

I am reversing the order of the last two requirements of the Church Catechism from those who come to the Lord's Supper. We are to be "in charity with all men." But of all the criticisms brought against communicants to-day by the general world, and indeed by ourselves, the most painful and disabling is that of uncharity. Its very painfulness is largely caused by the fact that we are unable to deny the large element of truth in the accusation. The phrase, "How these Christians love one another," was at first extorted admiringly from an unwilling pagan society. It has in process of time so passed into a bitter sarcasm that we have forgotten its different and happier birth! We are almost all of us guilty, and not least we of the clergy. Yet of all the common faults which beset us, it is much the least realized and deplored by those who fall into it.

We shall be hearing presently of that union with man which is one of the foundations of the Eucharist. Would it be possible for us to do better than to go home and make the strictest possible self-examination in regard to this matter? The outside world will only be attracted into our fellowship when the saying I quoted just now changes again from being a sarcasm levelled against us, and becomes once more a note of admiration. "See how these communicants love one another!" would soon lead men to another saying: "Come, let us join a band of men and women whose hearts God has so certainly touched!"

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IV. FAITH AND THANKFULNESS

On the last point, of faith and thankfulness, we are again in some danger of misunderstanding one another in our English Church. Christians see things differently, even when they think of that "lively faith" which they express in their Communion. Well, we are Catholics, and we believe with all

Preparation for Communion

our hearts in the sublime truth of the Catholic doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Real Presence. But we also believe that he who comes to the Lord Christ in faith will in no wise be cast out. And we thank him with all our hearts that certain beautiful and familiar words belong to us all, whatever our form of doctrine may be. We pray side by side "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls washed through his most Precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us." The supreme prayer belongs to us all.

Let us draw near, then, in full assurance, having "a lively faith in God's mercies through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death." Let us come to him for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls, as penitent as we can be; taking upon ourselves the discipline he lays upon us whose yoke is easy and whose burden light. Let us come full of the sense of the love and the needs of our brethren. We live in perplexing times; yet in days when there is an always growing desire for better understanding and closer unity. All this centres at the Table of the Lord.

With such thoughts in our minds, thankfulness comes of itself; thankfulness for that saving death of which every Mass and every act of Communion are the continual remembrance; thankfulness for our union of love with our fellow-communicants at God's Altar; thankfulness, above all, for the taking up of our poor life into the Divine Life; for our dwelling in him and he in us; thankfulness because our life is hid with Christ's in God.

The Meaning of the Presence

❧ II ❧

Communion with Man

By DUDLEY SYMON

“**T**HE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.” You are kneeling at the altar rails to be made a sharer in the Divine Life, to become sacramentally one with Christ himself. Beside you kneels another human being, known to you or unknown, to whom these same words are said, this same gift is given. And outside, in the early hours of a Sunday morning, there is the great world of men, asleep or awaking to a new day, for the most part indifferent to what you are doing, remote and incurious. Or, perhaps, on some week-day you are receiving the Holy Sacrament at an early Mass, and through the doors of the church there comes already, subdued but unmistakable, the hum and clatter of the day’s labours. As you kneel there, the whole mighty system of industry, commerce, and labour is gathering its momentum, fed by the hands and brains, the bodies, minds, and souls of myriads of men and women, and roars to its appointed end when the lights of street or house call men to their pleasure or their rest.

How are we to relate these three: the communicant, his neighbour at his side, and the world around? What unseen bonds thrill and tighten between you and your fellow as you receive the holy gifts? With what revived and reasserted obligations towards your brother man do you leave the sacred Presence? To what fellowship are you thereby summoned with all men, for whom, equally with yourself, the Body is given

Communion with Man

and the Blood outpoured? As you pass from the church, newly touched by the sacred fire from the altar, what mission to humanity is yours in virtue of the consecration and benediction you have received?

The first step in our consideration is all-important, and in this, fortunately, we are guided by the teaching of the Church. The act of communion, says theology, unites us to the sacred Humanity of our Lord. Mystically his perfect Manhood envelops ours. Our own human nature, incomplete, sinful, and weak is energized and illuminated by his. So by Holy Communion we are in the way of becoming—looked at from this angle—not mere pale imitations of Divinity, but more truly and more fully men. We approach the Complete Man—Christ himself. We approximate to human nature as God meant it to be, but as it cannot now be unless touched by the supernatural. God means each man to be a complete, unique, and beautiful expression of his Creative Mind; complete and beautiful we certainly are not, unique, as a rule, we would much rather not be; so the communion of Christ's Body is to help us to fulness of life, beauty of character, and the development of the talents entrusted to us. In self-examination, instead of the stupid little questions we are sometimes invited to ask, we had much better accuse ourselves of narrowness of vision, culpable ignorances, ugly dispositions, and facile acceptance of the standards of the herd in which we happen to live.

But there is, of course, no quality or virtue that can be considered purely self-regarding. At once, the reality of our communion finds the material for its testing and consolidation in our relations with other people. Our conduct towards others, our attitude to our neighbour, are the direct judgment as to whether we have "discerned the Lord's Body" or not. By virtue of the sacramental Presence we are Christ to the next person we meet. Whatever else the world expects, it does expect what may be called the "neighbourly virtues" from the Christian communicant—sympathy, kindliness, good temper, and generosity—all those things that make and keep life tolerable. Man's nature is social, and through Holy Communion there should be a heightening of all the qualities that form the basis of the social life.

The Meaning of the Presence

Is this, then, the whole matter? It can hardly be denied that it does seem sufficient to many people; and considering the triumph involved in gradually overcoming a mean disposition or a bad temper, I am far from wishing to depreciate it. But take the matter further. To think of the Holy Sacrament as merely or primarily a gift to the individual, which has its repercussions, as it were, in the individual's relations to other individuals, is, surely, so one-sided as to be almost a travesty of the true facts. It is a reflection in the Catholic sphere of that individualism which we all condemn when we find it among "Bible-loving" Protestants, but not so readily when it busies itself with candles and incense. To avoid complications in matters of taxation, I read that nowadays several wealthy landowners have followed the intelligent example of the Duke of Plaza-Toro, and have turned themselves into limited liability companies; it would seem that to avoid complication in the spiritual sphere many Christians have also propounded and practised a doctrine of "limited liability" as regards the scope of the Holy Communion. God, however, is even less easily mocked than the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

For the point is surely this. The Holy Communion—together with all the other sacraments—presupposes a social organization of which it is the "effectual sign"—that is, a witness to something which itself it helps to create. It witnesses, that is to say, to the Catholic Church, the Body of Christ. It is the gift of the Church, which, as we know, guarantees and guards its validity. Given first in the community and fellowship of the Upper Room, it ever after bears the stamp of its social origin and purpose. And the Church gives it to us, not simply for our edification and growth, but for her own. Every communion is an act of allegiance to the divine community, a witness to the claims of the whole body upon its members, a constructive act towards the extension of the Church's realm, a "gesture" of fellowship, a proclamation of belief in our need of and responsibility for one another in the Divine Family. This at once takes us further than a merely increased sense of duty to our "neighbour." For the Church is the fellowship of all the baptized, it is potentially, if not actually, the whole human race, it transcends time and

Communion with Man

place, its frontiers pass into eternity. Even where the effect of Holy Communion may seem to be most obviously private and personal, it is the Church that is the ultimate objective; even where, by virtue of my communion, I try to be more considerate, more patient, it is the Church, more clearly apprehended, that speaks through me and reveals to others something of the glory of that fellowship and the beauty and dignity of her moral laws.

We cannot, therefore, in any intelligible sense consider the act of communion as affecting the individual apart from the whole Body of Christ. The words of administration are indeed "individual" and personal, for the individual must, for one exalted moment, realize himself as the link in the chain, the soldier on whom for an instant his general's eye is fixed, summoning him to the utmost of his loyalty and strength. Yet it is as soldiers that we take our "Sacramentum," not as freelances: men who are called to effort, discipline, and endurance on behalf of something greater than ourselves, apart from which we have no value or meaning, whose service is our own satisfaction and free and purposive life.

And thus, through the Church, every communion points to our responsibilities on behalf of the Kingdom of God, the Divine Order of things, towards which we are to struggle in the world of space and time, onward to that sphere where we believe it will be perfectly realized. The Blessed Sacrament is an acceptance of Divine "value," and of God's purpose for mankind. Of Divine values—for where else do goodness, beauty, and truth receive so unqualified an affirmation? Put side by side with the Blessed Sacrament, the society of which we are a part and what it accepts as normal—the love of money, the passion for pleasure, the degradation of human life, the cynical demoralization of politics, the ugliness of industrialism, the vulgarity of wealth—it is almost meaningless to talk of their being "different"—unless you think that word is adequate for contrasting heaven and hell. There are very few current standards or values in the world to-day which we are not pledged by our communion to oppose and destroy.

Of God's purpose for mankind—the "breaking down of the partitions" between man and man, nation and nation, the

The Meaning of the Presence

building of Christendom, the creation of social organizations that are sacramental expressions of Christian ethics, and at least a comity between the nations based on a common Faith. If Christianity is not purposive, nine-tenths of human life seems to be left without guidance and without a goal; if it is, then there is no point at which we can stop short of the complete World-Order of the Kingdom of God.

And of this redemption, consecration, and re-ordering of human life, the Blessed Sacrament is the most perfect symbol that can be conceived. For the bread and wine, the expression of all man's achievements and his joy in them, become the Body and Blood of Christ. Things natural, accepted, ordinary, while not withdrawn from their own sphere, are not allowed to find their sole meaning and value there; they become modes by which we realize the supernatural, the Divine. Seen in that light, there is nothing in your life or my life or the life of the body politic that is not Eucharistic—raw material whose fulfilment is transubstantiation into the fabric of the Kingdom of God. This is our proper activity, not merely as individuals, but in and through the Church.

For just as you cannot isolate the individual from the Church, so the Church cannot exist in a kind of vacuum, self-contained and self-regarding. Her creative activity, the activity of love, must seize on the vast material of human life to mould and fashion it in accordance with herself. Love is creative, and the Church's task is neither to ignore, nor to seek to control, but to "recreate" the world.

"In the Gospels," says a modern writer, "the Kingdom is inseparable from the Church, and the Church is integrated into the very structure of the Kingdom. The Church is the sacrament of the Kingdom and the sacraments of the Church are sacraments of the Kingdom. The business of the Church is to train the citizens of the Kingdom, to develop in men Kingdom-capacity and to exorcise the evil spirit which enslaves human society. It cannot allow its members to treat it as an end in itself—to find their satisfaction in its services, sacraments and institutional interests. It is to be the generating station of those sacrificial powers which can redeem human life and lift the secular on to the spiritual plane."

Communion with Man

So the act of communion involves us in a threefold relationship with our fellow-man. First, by an immediate deepening of the Christ-life within us, it helps to destroy all that is fundamentally anti-social and unneighbourly in our personalities and to strengthen all those characteristics that make for unity, fellowship, and friendliness among men. Secondly, it is a creative act within the fellowship of the Church, building up the fulness of the stature of Christ, binding us to special responsibilities towards those who are of the household of faith, linking us mystically with the whole Church, militant, expectant, triumphant, and attaching to that fellowship the strongest obligations of service and mutual aid. Thirdly, since the Holy Sacrament is the Shrine of every value, human and divine, it is an acceptance of the Will and Purpose of God for the whole life of man, spiritual and material, in time as well as in eternity; it commits us to the quest of the Kingdom of God, it compels us to examine, and, if need be, challenge the institutions of the society in which we live; it summons us to enter into the whole life of men, not as those who would dominate and rule, but as those who would serve their generation and win them as fellow-workers towards the supreme end of man.

“The Word was made Flesh.” The mystery of the Incarnation is the mystery of the Mass also. He took our nature upon him; so we, in communion with that same Divine Manhood, are made one with humanity. We, who receive the Blessed Sacrament, are not only men but man; we take upon ourselves, even as he did, the joys and sorrows of the human race; we are his Body, and that Body is ever for the service of others, never for its own private needs. The Divine Presence in our souls is no private possession, but, as with him, an irradiation that warms and comforts and inspires our brethren. “Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto” (“I am a man, I deem nothing that concerns mankind foreign to me”), said the Roman in the play of Terence, rising to a noble height both of eloquence and dignity. With what fervour ought we to re-echo these words, we whose manhood has been glorified, not by a cold Stoic Pantheism, but by the in-dwelling of the very Incarnate God!

The Meaning of the Presence

It was, without any doubt, the inspiration of the Blessed Sacrament that during the last two or three generations produced the great mission priests of the English Church and the bands of faithful laity who supported them. "Much cheered with thoughts of Christ, the Living Bread," our Dollings, Stantons, Pollocks, Richard Wilsons won their way into the hearts of men, received love in return for love, revealed to many the beauty of fellowship and brought comfort and consolation to souls in darkness and cruel habitations. The need for priests such as these has not ceased, will perhaps never cease. The comfortless sighing of the poor, in their mean and dismal dwellings, still challenges our complacency and summons our service. Still we must hear the voice of the "Lover of souls" who calls men to that personal self-sacrificing work in obscure parishes, which is the heart of this movement. Still we must thrill to the prophetic words of the late Bishop of Zanzibar, who bade us seek the "naked and hungry Christ in the slum" and pray that every generation of priests and laity may find those who will respond.

Yet, as we gaze at and consider the human scene and the needs of the world, some of us, I think, are conscious that, with all its greatness and nobility, this ideal of the past does not exactly coincide with the angle of our vision to-day. It is not that the older appeal has become obsolete, still less that it has been proved false, but that it has to be fitted into a new setting, a fresh estimation of the man's needs, and that in this adjustment its proportions are somehow changed. For one thing, it has become impossible to think that one section of the community more than another needs the fellowship and inspiration of the Holy Sacrament. The rich need it, and need it sorely, that they may be helped to acquire a true sense of values in material things and break down the barriers that wealth creates between man and man; the middle classes need it that they may be set free from the bonds of their besetting sins of conventionality, insularity, and snobbery; the Public Schools need it (how they need it!) that in place of their "muffled Christianity" (as Mr. Wells calls it) they may know the power of the supernatural and the glory of him "*qui lætificat inventutem meam.*"

Communion with Man

But, above all, it is the revived and newly interpreted thought of the Kingdom of God that has altered our point of view, widened and deepened it. The enthusiasm for humanity, whose motive power lies in the love of Christ, for us set forth and embodied in the Holy Sacrament, has in our modern times found fresh means of expression and opportunities for its realization. The vision of the past was that of strong centres of sacramental life in the wilderness of our industrialized civilization, storehouses of humanity, brotherliness and virtuous living in a world in which these things were often sadly lacking; or of a Church, reinvigorated by Catholic truth and worship, upholding these same qualities before society. Some men, indeed, went farther. They asked themselves whether the system that produced the slums, the unemployment, the bad housing, the wretched destitution, the degradation and impoverishment of life and all the other evils they deplored, could be itself arraigned before the Christian conscience and judged by Catholic standards. They found it intolerable to be expected to accept the position of the ambulance corps of industrialism, mitigating as far as they could its worst evils, or, more degrading still, acting as moral policemen, inculcating patience and submission to the unhappy victims of Mammon. "Religion," says one of the Revd. Elmer Gantry's deacons, "is a fine thing to keep people in order. They think of higher things instead of all these strikes and big wages and the kind of hell-raising that's throwing the industrial system all out of kitter." These men had not so learned the Faith. They saw industrialism not as something indifferent, but based on the exploitation of many of the worst human passions; not as eternally existing, but cradled in the breakdown of the mediæval synthesis and the foster-child of Protestantism; not as exempt from religious judgment because concerned with economics, but standing at its bar as outraging human personality, destroying liberty and making the Gospel of Christ of none effect.

So there arose those great prophets of the Christian-social movement—Stewart Headlam, Shuttleworth, Marson, Scott Holland, to name only those who are no longer with us—men whom this Congress should be proud to honour, men who in

The Meaning of the Presence

the face of prejudice, obscurantism, and malice, descended from their altars to witness for social righteousness. Some of their followers may be criticized—as who may not be?—for accepting too readily current economic remedies, for too much willingness to ally the Church with secular forces. But the spiritual and intellectual insight of these men remains as one of the great glories of their time and of the Catholic revival in our land.

And the heart of their vision was this: the Church must return into the sphere of politics and economics from which it has withdrawn for over two hundred years. It must return, for two centuries of secularized politics and materialistic economics have brought the world to the verge of disaster. It must return, for religion, cribbed, cabined, and confined in narrow bounds, fenced and warned off from great tracts of human life, has itself become sickly, anæmic, and self-centred. It must return. But how? Not in alliance with any party or any secular policy, still less as the tool of any, but as an independent force, developing and appealing to its own specific principles, seeking to understand the implications of its dogmatic theology and moral standards, drawing its inspiration and enlightenment from its sacramental life and worship. This is a far bigger and more august conception of our duty than any before. For it means the revival of the idea of the unity of life with a religious basis, of a Christian Commonwealth in which the Church is not a society but *the society* and the very soul of the whole social order as the sacramental expression of the Will of God revealed to men in the Body of Christ. Nothing less than this can be an adequate answer from the Church to the need of the world to be saved from itself and the calamitous yet glorious responsibilities with which we are faced to-day.

If greater, more august and glorious—then infinitely more difficult and completely dependent on the might of the Holy Spirit. No paper scheme can be drawn up to present in detail the Will of God for the social life of man in this or in any generation. Just as after the chaos of the Dark Ages, centuries went to build up the great structure of mediæval Christendom, so centuries may have to pass before we shall achieve a fresh

Communion with Man

synthesis. But let us realize at least that it is to this task that God is calling us, to be pioneers, however humble, in the great reconstruction of Christendom.

Have I seemed in all this to be straying from my subject, to be losing sight of the theme of the Blessed Sacrament and Man? I hope not. For surely what we are all learning is this: that life cannot be unified, cannot be refashioned so to allow full play to fellowship and co-operation, except on a supernatural foundation. That supernatural foundation is the Church, which, according to Catholic philosophy, is not, in its true being, an incidental organization, but the soul of the world, the instrument of the Kingdom of God, the conscience, heart, and will of the Empire of Man. And at the centre of that supernatural power, in the shrine where the eternal fires blaze upon the altar, is the abiding mystery of the God made Man, of the divine power that makes all things new, and of the voice that says of common bread "This is my Body." It is from that experience that the new revolution must spring, the experience of those who have found the Body of Christ in the Holy Bread of the Mass and thence have had the vision of the world itself as the Host ever consecrated anew on the High Altar of Heaven; who, in Communion with the Lover of men, have thereby passed into a new solidarity with their brothers; who, through their offering of the Divine Sacrifice, have, however dimly, learned that no fellowship among men is possible apart from the sacrifice of self for the good of others. Let this Eucharistic Congress bring home to us that every time we dare to receive that Holy Food we are committing ourselves to tremendous affirmations, we are accepting a certain kind and quality of life, we are declaring that there is no human activity that has not to be recaptured and reformed in accordance with the verities therein disclosed. Let our task begin with the Household of Faith. The Church here in England is our heritage and appointed instrument for the work of the Kingdom. May we so accept our service, not grudgingly, but with passionate loyalty, that every altar may be a dynamic force, every Communion a creative act for the coming of the new Christian Commonwealth—the gift that God awaits our response to bestow.

The Meaning of the Presence

❧ III ❧

Communion with God

By C. P. HANKEY



COMMUNION with God is the goal towards which any religion that can claim respectful attention directs its followers. A religion that could not hold out a reasonable hope of such communion would have small chance of receiving the continued allegiance of thoughtful people. No doctrine of immortality could by itself satisfy mankind. An extension of life after death is a tolerable thought only if it includes both the Beatific Vision of God and some kind of communion with him.

The means by which mankind has sought to achieve this communion have varied because men vary in their idea of what it is which principally prevents their union with God. We shall have to consider, then, what exactly it is which we, as Christians, believe separates us from God, and the means which we believe that Christ has provided for doing away with this obstruction. But before we do this it will be useful to consider briefly what those people who have not received his revelation have felt about the matter, as this may help us to distinguish more clearly the nature of his revelation.

Looking back over the history of religion, and observing the means by which men have sought to attain this end, we find, in the first place, a class of bizarre practices, through the use of which, it is claimed, men have drawn near to God. We find men dancing, for instance, in a frenzied, dervish-like way; we see them using outlandish music or the rhythmical repetition of movements of the body, arms or legs, and so forth. There are examples of such things in the

Communion with God

pages of the Old Testament, and they may be discovered to-day among certain rather unusual Christian communities. Such behaviour seems to us absurd in view of its high purpose, but it is really the natural outcome of a theory as to what specific thing it is which separates man from God. For the theory on which these people are working is that the gulf which separates man from God is primarily the gulf between the finite and the infinite, between finite man and infinite God. If that gulf is to be crossed it appears to them evident that somehow man must escape from his mind and his body; for it is these which appear to hold the spirit of man to this earth. By these barbarous methods you can get into a condition in which you lose all sense of the limitations of finite existence—into a state of ecstasy. Then your freed spirit can commune with its Maker.

There are other beliefs about this subject of a very different kind. We find those who hold that the limitations imposed by everyday life constitute no bar to intercourse with God. God and man can enter into fellowship, no matter what the dispositions of the latter may be. Man has not to bother about his moral condition, or his psychological state, for he can use a magic which will bring God into communion with him. In this case man is not seeking to hitch his waggon to the star of the infinite, but to obtain protection and strength for the living of his life on earth. God is power, and through communion with him man can get power to contend with his enemies, material and spiritual.

I have not mentioned these ideas only that they may be set in contrast with the Christian belief. In both of these there are elements which have a place within the Christian teaching on this subject. For there is a lifting up of the heart to God in prayer, which is an attempt to bridge the gulf which separates finite man from infinite God. There is also something that corresponds with the belief that somehow the power which lies in God can reach man, even though he be so unruly and the prey of such odd illusions. There is a divine invasion, a strength which comes to us from without, and its coming does not depend upon ecstatic conditions. But these ideas are strangely transmuted in the teaching of Christ. The impetus

The Meaning of the Presence

to seek communion with God does not arise in Christians because they are oppressed by the sense of the limitations under which they live on this earth, since our Lord himself submitted to them. Nor is it the desire for power which stimulates them, because, again, Christ came among them "as he that doth serve."

What is it then which distinguishes the Christian belief from others?

First of all, we observe that it begins quite differently. We have just seen how those others have begun by emphasizing the *unlikeness* of God to man. The Christian begins by emphasizing their *likeness*—that is to say, he begins with the memory that man was created in the divine image. If there is to be communion between them it must be on the basis of that likeness, for such intercourse can only be between like and like. You cannot know a person with whom you have nothing in common. His next thought is: "But that divine image was lost by man, or largely lost, through his deliberate sin." The gulf, then, which must be bridged for the restoration of this communion is not so much that between the finite and the infinite, as between that which is and that which ought to be—in fact, that which lies between sinful man on the one hand and Holy God on the other. It is primarily because of the consciousness of corporate and individual sin that communion with God seems to the Christian an unattainable wonder. He stands like Alice in Wonderland looking into a garden he cannot enter. How could communion ever be thought of without lowering one's conception of God? If such a thing is really possible, either the prophetic conception of God's holiness is surely wrong, or else man is more capable of a radical moral change than his history suggests.

Such are the alternatives which confront us as we close the Old Testament. And when we open the New, that dilemma might seem at first sight to have become more pronounced than ever. For if the death of Jesus is the price of sin, God's holiness must be even more awful than the prophets perceived it to be. But the New Testament does not merely deepen that impression of God's holiness which we inherit from the Old. That very death of Jesus taught us something further about

Communion with God

God which we could not otherwise have believed, for he died not only as a man does, for his friends, but as God does, for his enemies. We learn, in fact, that God is more than holiness—that his nature is expressed most richly and deeply by the word “love.” And we learn further that this inmost nature of God has received concrete expression in “the one mediator between God and man, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.”

And here we come to the great wonder of the Christian faith, the source of our hope that human beings may have communion with Deity. Christ Jesus, “himself man,” holds perfect communion with the Father. On the Cross God and man are absolutely at one. The conditions are at last fulfilled, for like is holding communion with like. The divine image is expressed as perfectly as it can be on Calvary, and the Christian faith really begins with this accord between the Mind of Christ on the Cross and the Heavenly Father. The thing is possible then; but what about ourselves? Can we, in whom that divine image has, to say the least, been smudged, can we have what Jesus had? That, too, is possible through Christ’s redeeming act. If, by the power of that act and the strength which the love of that act engenders, we share the Mind of Christ, we may attain, through union with him, what he attained. But we must be endeavouring to share the thoughts of that Mind towards the Father, towards the brethren and towards ourselves; we must be hating sin and loving righteousness, for like can only hold communion with like.

It is not our business here to show how man may come to perceive within himself the fruits of Christ’s redemption through such individual acts as penitence and prayer and adoration. Such means must be imperfect by themselves just because they are individual acts, whereas we are, in his Mind, a family. As a family, a race, a people, our means of union with God must be a social act—must be, in fact, that rite the first purpose of which is the continual remembrance of the death of his Son. The Eucharist would be for this purpose efficacious, even though it were a rite unauthorized by Christ, and bare, since its object is that remembrance. Offered with

The Meaning of the Presence

that terribly serious intention, it would be a true vehicle of communion with the Mind of Christ, which is to say a communion with God. It is not, however, a bare rite, but a service with a promise. The Eucharist is an integral part of that sacrifice which the Son offered on the Cross; it is that by the Will of Christ himself: "Take, eat," he said, "this is my Body." We can no more separate the Mass from the sacrifice on Calvary than we can separate the institution of the rite on Maundy Thursday from the Altar of the Cross on Good Friday.

Now, this supreme act of worship is the confession by the Christian family, first, of God's holiness, and, second, of the awfulness of sin—just those two facts which we have seen rise before the consciousness of our family when it seeks communion with God. So far are we from seeking that communion, by forgetting or glossing over the uncomfortable reality of sin, that the very rite itself which Christ provided is a public recognition of our acknowledgment of it, since nothing less than the death of the Son of God could avail for its overthrowing. But also in this holy sacrifice we are taught how that which separates can be done away, because in it God is set forth as Self-giving, and we are allowed to partake of that which he gives in the new life which comes from his death, to drink of "the fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness." These unruly subjects of God are allowed to unite themselves with that offering on the Cross, which is the Mind of Christ, the human likeness of God.

Communion with God! That must be the greatest of human experiences, and it is nothing less than this that happens when we receive Holy Communion. But when we approach that sacrament, whatever may be the joy we experience, it falls short of the wonder which the words "communion with God" would surely lead us to expect. We have been taught only that our communions must be made with devotion; why were we not also taught that they should be made with ecstasy? For the very simple reason that a discipline of preparation for communion which would ensure such ecstasy would need to be a discipline which severed soul and body—a discipline which would free our spirits from the

Communion with God

trammels of earthly existence. Remember, therefore, the words which are said as we partake of that holy food: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy *body and soul* unto everlasting life." It is our whole person, body and soul, which is to be brought within the sphere of redemption, not the spirit only. Our mental and physical condition is bound to play an important part in this experience. It is for this reason that those who receive Holy Communion with very little sensible devotion, feeling far colder than they would wish about it, may yet be drawing near with greater profit to their souls than those whose experience appears more thrilling. The former may be trying to bring the whole of their lives with all their crippling disabilities; the latter may be cutting their life in two and offering only that part of it which we call spirit, an act which may be unaccompanied by any moral effort. It is "ourselves, our souls and bodies" to which the promise has been given, and it is ourselves, our souls and bodies which we pray may some time enter into rapt communion with their Maker and Redeemer.

If we approach this act with self-forgetful minds we shall not be seeking ecstasy therein, but a moral change to the likeness of Christ through his redeeming power. We discover, then, that there are no easy consolations to be had through Holy Communion, for the deeper our experience of it the greater we find the call upon our fortitude, since in that life which gives access to God there is pain. The Body was broken and the Blood was shed for the remission of sins. It is a communion with God through receiving that which, by Christ's own will and act, conveys himself to us, not as he lived once in Galilee, but as he is and was and ever will be, the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world.

The Reserved Sacrament



Its Use for Communion

By H. F. B. MACKAY



HAVE been asked to deal with a small practical point in connection with the subject of the Holy Eucharist. The title of my paper is "The Reserved Sacrament: Its Use for Communion."

You have been reminded again during the Congress that the Eucharist has always been regarded as the central Christian occasion, and that the occasion has always been held to produce a power to be exercised Godward and Manward, and that this power has always been held to underlie the sacramental elements after consecration, and to remain effective for its purpose so long as the Sacrament is reserved for practical reasons.

We connect our Communion so simply with the scene in the Upper Chamber that we are apt to forget that our Lord's followers, if left to themselves, might have interpreted the significance of that scene in other ways.

Granted that our Lord commanded the perpetuation of the scene, since the occasion was a secret one with only his principal followers present, it might have been regarded as an esoteric rite reserved for the highest initiates, and to be celebrated only on rare occasions of great significance. Such an interpretation would no doubt have involved the reproduction in detail as close as possible of the original scene;

Its Use for Communion

throughout the centuries the initiates would have reclined about a supper-table in an upper room.

The Apostles understood the Eucharist differently. They connected it directly with the ministries to the bodies and souls of men in which they had assisted our Lord while he was on earth; they connected it directly with such a scene as the feeding of the five thousand; they connected it with the gifts described in the sixth chapter of St. John; they regarded it as intended to be the central occasion, the supreme act, and the highest gift bestowed, in the life of every baptized person.

All through the history of Communion you will find that the matter of greatest importance was held to be the widest possible extension of the opportunities of Communion, and for this reason the necessary symbolism was narrowed as far as possible. The history of Holy Communion is indeed the history of five of the commonest objects—a table, a plate, a cup—bread on the plate, wine in the cup—and a man who can produce proofs that he has received our Lord's commission and power to give these objects the significance with which our Lord has invested them.

Since the Apostolic Church attributed supreme significance to the Eucharist, it is natural that it was chiefly concerned to guard its central position in the Christian life, and to think of it as the centre and source of Christian unity. Occasional and clinical celebrations of the Eucharist for the benefit of private persons would not, therefore, form part of the earliest Christian conception of it.

In the earliest Church of Jerusalem we see the Christians coming together every day for the breaking of the Bread and for the Prayers, sharing the Lord's Body, and with it sharing all else they possessed.

Almost at the same time we see the Gentile Christians gathering in their cities round the same table once a week at night-time or in the early morning with a discipline and a ceremony which their antecedents and circumstances demanded. A century later the Church has grown and spread; it is a time of persecution, and large gatherings of Christians are dangerous; but the Eucharist remains the centre to which all faithful Christians congregate, and to those un-

The Reserved Sacrament

avoidably absent the deacons carry the Sacrament, that they may be counted as present.

The picture thus presented should be retained in the mind because it is typical—the one altar, the one priest, the whole body of the faithful, all communicating, and the ministers going out this way and that into the neighbourhood to administer the Blessed Sacrament to those unable to be present and to the infirm.

All use of the reserved Sacrament for Communion is a further expansion from practical necessity of this conception. It is a reaching-out from the altar to draw the absent into the unity of its life.

It is clear that this idyllic picture sketched for us by Justin Martyr can only be realized under certain favourable circumstances; it is only possible when the congregation is moderate sized and its members live within easy distance of the central meeting-place. The extension of the Church and the rigour of the persecutions soon made the official distribution of the elements throughout the neighbourhood at the time of celebration unmanageable.

Under these circumstances the Church might have said: "We can stretch the essential symbolism of unity in the one Bread no further, and those who cannot now be present at the Liturgy must go without Communion." But she took an opposite and an exceedingly daring line: she gave trusted lay-people the Sacrament to reserve in their homes, that they might communicate themselves.

This custom was not merely an expedient resorted to when public persecution became acute; the personal difficulties of Christians whose relations were mostly pagans were often great. They were often forbidden to attend the Christian assembly. So generous was the Church in her care for such that she entrusted them with the Sacrament, to be hidden away in safety and received secretly.

And when persecution ceased and private difficulties abated, the custom of private reservation did not at once die away.

During the persecutions the Christian desire for Communion greatly increased. Our Lord would seem to have manifested himself with personal tenderness in the Com-

Its Use for Communion

munities of the persecuted, giving them a foretaste of the beatitude of the Kingdom of Heaven, and a desire for frequent and even daily Communion grew strong. But at this period the Liturgy was not celebrated on every day in the week; on certain days celebrations were prohibited (as they are to-day in the East on certain days in Lent, on some of which the Rite of the Presanctified is used—as they are to-day on the Fridays in Lent in the Archdiocese of Milan, and all over the West on Good Friday). The difficulty was met by priests giving people supplies of the Blessed Sacrament for clinical Communion, for which purpose it was reserved in their oratories in a vessel of dignity. St. Basil, in the fourth century, defends this practice as legitimate, and says that the symbolic unity of the Eucharist was still sufficiently preserved, since the Sacrament so received was always a far-flung gift from one altar, distributed originally by one hand.

But the supreme example of the Church's readiness to put practical considerations before symbolism in her treatment of the Eucharist is the fact that during the early ages the Sacrament distributed for the purpose of reservation and private Communion was in the species of bread only, and that the Communion of infants—the general practice of those days—was in the species of wine only. The reason for the general practice of reserving under the species of bread only was the practical impossibility of reserving the chalice. We do not know whether the deacons who distributed from the Liturgy to the absent, communicating them at the time, brought the chalice, but it is thought probable that they did not; the Sacrament had to be carried in those dangerous times with secrecy. Christians had even been denounced to the authorities by detecting the odour of wine in their breath in the early morning. When Tarcisus the Acolyte, in the third century, was martyred while carrying the Sacrament, his murderers searched his dead body and found nothing. He had no vessel with him, and apparently had consumed the Host, which he may have been carrying in a fold of linen. In this practice of private reservation, so far as we know, the Host only was reserved; in the case of religious communities living in the desert without a priest, a supply of Hosts was given into the

The Reserved Sacrament

charge of the head of the monastery, who communicated the brethren.

Occasionally in cases of mortal sickness, where the circumstances permitted, as in religious houses and in the houses of great personages, Mass was said and the Sacrament carried in both kinds to the dying patient. This method seems to have been regarded as an honorific way of treating the dying person. But there was no thought that Communion in one kind was a defective Communion.

A thousand years before St. Thomas wrote the "Lauda Sion" the Church in her practice was saying:

"Wine is poured and bread is broken,
But in either sacred token
Christ entire we know to be."

That is to say, what was known later as the doctrine of concomitance was always implicit in the usage of the Church.

As you survey the history of the Eucharist you are conscious—more vividly, perhaps, than in any other department of theology—of a Power behind the theologians, the liturgies, and the prayers, devotions and religious conceptions of the people, tenderly leading them further into an understanding of the relation of our Lord to his children.

The practice of private reservation had grown up in heroic days, days of persecution, days of pure religion, days in which Communion was ardently desired and when martyrdom was thinning the ranks of the priests. In the laxer days which followed, when the quality of Christians had been lowered by the influx of multitudes, and the desire for Communion had waned, the practice of private reservation became liable to abuse, owing to the remnants of pagan ideas in the minds of the people. But there was no sudden and decisive action of the Church to suppress it. Official control of reservation was gradually gained. It was left in the hands of the priests, who continued to reserve on the old lines. Gradually inquiries begin to appear as to whether the priests were doing their duty in the matter. We hear of the Celtic clergy carrying the reserved Sacrament about with them as part of their ordinary equipment, in order that they might be able to give Com-

Its Use for Communion

munion to persons who were desirous of it, a custom revived in the twentieth century by some chaplains in the Great War.

Official reservation continued to be in one kind.

But in the tenth century the practice of intincting the Host with some drops of the chalice became a widely spread custom. For some time people were communicated in this way in the Liturgy, and the custom spread to the Communion of the sick.

It disappeared before long in the West, being violently reprobated in some places, partly for the foolish reason that it suggested the sop of Judas. It is considered to have been the first step in the West to the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity. The East adhered to it, and it unfortunately became a point of difference between East and West.

The custom of intinction, I say, disappeared before long in the West, but survives in the East. Easterns are communicated with the mingled species at Mass, and for sick Communion a holy loaf is signed with the Precious Blood, which is then dried upon it by the application of heat; the loaf thus artificially prepared is broken up into fragments, which are reserved throughout the year. It will be noticed that in this process the element of wine disappears, so that the Communion of the sick in the East is really Communion in one kind. The Sacrament is also freshly mingled and reserved for the Communion in the Rite of the Presanctified. I gather that in the East the Communion of the sick is practically confined to those *in extremis*, and that our ministry of carrying the Sacrament to those confined to bed in various degrees of illness is not customary. In the matter of the reservation of the Sacrament the methods of East and West have come to differ in other important particulars.

An Eastern church is partitioned into two parts, corresponding, we may say, to the Earthlies and the Heavenlies. The Blessed Sacrament is reserved on the holy table in the Heavenlies, and is thus shut off from the cognizance of the people. In the West our churches are not solidly partitioned into two parts, and the Blessed Sacrament, the Fountain of Communion, necessarily the most sacred point in the building, is always in front of the people.

The Reserved Sacrament

In old days it was usually reserved in this country either in a pyx hanging over the high altar, or in a safe called an aumbry, in the north wall of the sanctuary. In later times in the West the pyx came down, so to speak, on to the altar, was nailed upon it, and became a tabernacle. Of these various plans, the tabernacle seems best to combine dignity and practical convenience, and brings the reserved Sacrament into that direct and obvious relation to Communion which we should always desire to emphasize.

But there must have been a great symbolic beauty in the arrangement of an old English church, its many chapels, shrines, and chantries witnessing to many aspects and moods of the Christian life, and in the centre the Holy Sacrament, as it were, hovering above and brooding over the whole scene in a ceaseless ministry of love to the needy and the dying.

The interest of this subject for us to-day lies in the fact that the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament has been restored amongst us, and the rest of my paper is concerned with practical considerations arising out of the historical sketch I have given you.

In the Church's provision for Holy Communion her chief aim has always been practical convenience combined with decency and order, and in all modifications of practice practical convenience has led the way. We must take that as an axiom. First, you have already noticed that the Communion of sick and dying persons is only a very small part of my subject.

Before reservation was restored amongst us the cases of the most poignant need were naturally those of sick and dying persons. When the desire for Communion began to rise to the normal Christian level through the Catholic Revival, the absence of provision for the Communion of the sick was bitterly felt, and reservation for the sick became the cry. Years have rolled on, and the desire for Communion has risen still higher, and has brought with it the demand *for the normal Christian facilities for Communion to meet all needs and circumstances.*

I will speak first of the Communion of the sick and dying.

There is, I think, no intrinsic objection of importance to the celebration of Mass in a sick-room, if under certain

Its Use for Communion

circumstances it seem desirable, but as a rule the Christian tradition has been against it. The Church has always made difficulties about Mass being said in an unconsecrated building; partly because the Mass is the centre of ordered unity and should be celebrated at a Christian centre, partly because clinical celebrations might become schismatic gatherings, and also because the surroundings might be unseemly.

There is a canon of the ninth century forbidding it on the third ground. "In the midst of hounds and harlots," says the canon, "the holy mysteries are defiled rather than consecrated."

This recalls an incident in my own ministry. As a young priest I was called upon to offer the holy sacrifice at two o'clock in the morning in the filthy room of a man in the last stages of septic pneumonia, the floor above being a brothel, and the floor below being a brothel.

On the other hand, I should be sorry if celebrations in houses came to be ruled out altogether. They are greatly valued by devout bedridden people, and have often had a missionary value in a family. Some of our most beautiful memories are connected with sick-room celebrations.

But for the future our normal method of communicating the sick will be in the traditional Christian manner—with the Sacrament reserved and taken for the purpose from the tabernacle, pyx or aumbry.

Both practical convenience and decency will, I think, be found ultimately to require that this, generally speaking, shall be according to the traditional Christian custom in one kind. The reservation of the chalice has always been against the mind of the Church, and most priests will feel it to be practically impossible to carry the chalice to the sick. Modern distances and modes of travel make this more unfitting than ever. I had to take the Blessed Sacrament thirty miles the other day. The powerful car which was sent for me had been told to make haste. Twice, the case I had with me was flung across the car. Under such circumstances the Blessed Sacrament can only be carried in one kind in a pyx round the neck. Entering, as we are, upon a period of experiment, it is probable that some priests will prepare intincted Hosts for

The Reserved Sacrament

reservation in the tabernacle by touching them with the Precious Blood. This is probably not Communion in both kinds; the element of wine is said to lose its integrity under these circumstances almost at once, and if this is so such a dealing with the chalice is not reverent. On the other hand, where the occasion permitted, there could, I think, be no objection to tincting a Host at Mass with the Precious Blood and carrying it at once to a sick person. But this would only be possible in certain cases; it would meet no case of urgency.

Freedom to communicate the sick in one kind is imperatively required. I speak from personal experience. I myself have received Viaticum taken from the tabernacle at All Saints in the middle of the wedding of a friend of mine whom I was to have married.

This experience lays upon me the responsibility of urging freedom to give Communion in one kind to the sick and dying in this revival of religion.

But the Communion of the sick and dying is but a small part of the mission of the reserved Sacrament. The Sacrament is also reserved for the Communion of the oppressed. I insist on the phrase "the Communion of the oppressed," for I hold that all those who are forcibly prevented by the hard conditions of their lives from coming into the glowing heart of the Church's life—the celebration of the mysteries—are more oppressed than those slaves who came to Mass from Nero's household. There are classes of people in country places and in the towns whose occupations would prevent them all their lives from leading the life of Communion unless they can be communicated from the reserved Sacrament. For example, a priest is breakfasting after his Mass on Sunday morning. A servant enters. "Please, Father, three newspaper boys are at the door; they say they have finished taking their papers round, and they are ready for their Communions." That is a request which no priest will ever be able to refuse.

Every Sunday morning before the earliest Mass some hospital nurses may be found kneeling before the tabernacle at All Saints with only ten minutes at their disposal. Those nurses can never be sent empty away.

I recall an incident of thirty years ago. I was on a mission.

Its Use for Communion

I met a man of great holiness of life in that mission. He was a distributor of milk in a large London suburb. At the end of the mission he brought me a resolution. It was to read the Bible with prayer three times a day. I proposed to apply the missionary's blue pencil to the resolution. "I advise," I said, "that you make it twice a day; three times might prove unmanageable." He looked at me with a little surprise. "But I have always done that," he said, "and I am sure I can get in another time at the dinner hour." "You might also increase your Communion," I said. "I cannot do that," he said. "I go as often as I can." "How often is that?" I said. "Four times a year. I have searched this neighbourhood, and there is one church which, four times a year, has a celebration early enough for me, but that is all." For all such cases as this the age-long wisdom of the central Christian tradition has provided the possibility of Communion from the tabernacle.

My lords, reverend Fathers, my brethren, the Lord's Supper in the Church of England has become what the Apostles knew it must never be—the esoteric rite of the High Initiates.

The deadly evil in the Church of England is the separation of the Lord's children from the Lord's table.

The Church of England, as Newman said, has a miscarrying womb and dry breasts because she has ceased to feed upon the Bread of Life.

This Congress shows that our Lord's children are finding him again in the Blessed Sacrament. Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar must be made accessible to every man, woman, and child in this country, accessible in that point of perfect union between himself and his children which he has designed, and in which he says to the nurse and to the shepherd, to the milkman and to the thin and white-faced but most plucky little newsboy: "Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The Reserved Sacrament

❧ II ❧

Its Devotional Aspect

By LIONEL THORNTON, C.R.

THE devotional aspect of the Reserved Sacrament depends for its significance upon the whole meaning and purpose of the Holy Eucharist. This Sacrament was ordained for the two great ends of sacrifice and communion, which are but two sides of our Lord's one great redeeming activity for the salvation of mankind. That redeeming activity is embodied in all the ministries of the Church and operates through all the Sacraments, but most of all is it to be found in the Sacrament of the Altar. Our Lord's redeeming activity is embodied in the whole action of the Eucharistic Liturgy. But at the consecration that action is gathered up into the Eucharistic Gifts through the transformation of bread and wine into Christ's Body and Blood which then takes place. Thenceforth the end of the Eucharistic action is communion. Thus the action of the Mass is embodied in each host, which is consecrated and reaches its appointed end in each individual act of communion. The Real Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament has for its context the whole of this Eucharistic action, and the sacred gifts must never be regarded as though they could be out of relation to that action, with all that it signifies and effects. Now when the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, it is reserved for communion and for no other purpose. It is therefore still within the context of the Eucharistic rite. There is no breach in the essential action of the rite and no change in the status of the consecrated gifts. There is no breach in the Eucharistic action when reservation takes place, because the purpose for which the Sacrament is reserved is to

Its Devotional Aspect

fulfil one of the fundamental ends for which the Sacrament was ordained—namely, communion. There is no change in the status of the Sacrament when reserved, and the reason is once more the same. It is reserved for communion, for acts of communion which have precisely the same character, or quality, as acts of communion which are made at the altar during the service of Holy Communion in church. The reserved Sacrament is capable of giving communion. It embodies, then, the redeeming activity of our Lord and effects his saving work of love for souls.

The Sacrament reserved is, therefore, not something other than or different from the Holy Eucharist. It is an extended use of the Sacrament for the more complete fulfilment of the end for which the Sacrament was ordained. In this extension conditions of time and space are changed; but they are of secondary importance. Nothing else is changed. It follows, then, that the devotional attitude which is fitting in the presence of the Sacrament reserved must be precisely the same attitude as we should adopt during the actual Liturgy when consecration has been effected and the sacred gifts upon the altar are still unconsumed. The word which most fittingly sums up our devotional attitude in both cases is the word "adoration." Adoration is something which we can fittingly render to God alone. It is the attitude of the creature towards the Creator, and of the Christian Church to the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. The Eucharistic Liturgy is in its essence prayer addressed to the Father through the Son. But within that Liturgy adoration is offered, as in the heavenly worship of the Apocalypse, to the Lamb of God slain for our redemption. For the throne of God and of the Lamb is one throne. The Eucharistic adoration which we offer to our Lord finds its focus in the consecrated gifts of his Body and Blood. Wheresoever those gifts may be, whether upon the altar during Mass or in the tabernacle or aumbry reserved for communion or being carried from church to communicate the faithful in their homes—towards them our Eucharistic adoration is rightly and properly directed. We must conclude, then, that as the Eucharistic worship of the Church is the crown of all creaturely worship directed towards the Creator, so the heart of that

The Reserved Sacrament

worship is the adoration of our Saviour sacramentally present in his redeeming activity, and that the supreme rightfulness of this adoration is a principle which continues to operate unchanged when we are in the presence of the Sacrament reserved. For those who hold the faith of the Universal Church concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, no other conclusion is really possible. The rightfulness of adoration in the presence of the reserved Sacrament is fully recognized by the Eastern Churches. To those who have sought to maintain that this is not the case you will find a convincing reply in an utterance of His Holiness the Archbishop of Athens, which is printed at the beginning of our Congress hand-book. It is perfectly true that this principle has not received in the Eastern Churches that developed application which has obtained in the West. But a difference in the application of a principle is a very different thing from its denial. This question of divergence between East and West is too large a subject to deal with adequately within the limits of this short paper. It involves very large questions concerning the nature of authority and concerning the character of historical developments which would take us far beyond our present subject. I will merely record my conviction here that the bearing of Eastern methods of worship upon this subject needs to be placed upon a very much wider background than is commonly allowed to it in current controversy. The most serious case of Western divergence from the East is the introduction of the *Filioque* clause into the Nicene Creed, a divergence which, for good or ill, we share with the rest of Western Christendom. The problem of historical divergence is not so simple as some would have us suppose.

The primary ground of our devotional attitude towards the Sacrament reserved is the faith of the whole Catholic Church concerning the Holy Eucharist, and the conviction that where our Lord is sacramentally present, there he must be adored. To this it must be added that the conditions which accompany and control this adoration are precisely those conditions which are operative in the case of adoration offered during the actual Liturgy. These conditions may be summed up under three heads: In the first place, reservation constitutes, as we

Its Devotional Aspect

have seen, an extension of the priestly action of our Lord, as that is embodied in the Eucharistic rite; secondly, the purpose for which we reserve is communion; and, thirdly, the co-operative action of the whole worshipping Church is involved. Of the first two points something has already been said. With regard to communion, it is sometimes urged that Eucharistic adoration should be closely connected with the act of communion. It is certainly true that the highest and best way in which we can show adoring gratitude for our Lord's gift of himself is by devoutly receiving him into our hearts in a good communion. But if this important truth is pressed in an exclusive sense to mean that we may only adore when we communicate, it would necessarily seem to imply that the only ground for Eucharistic worship lies in our own individual experience of communion. Incidentally, such a view would also exclude the universal Catholic custom of assisting at Mass at times when we do not communicate. The *ethos* of Catholic worship can never be confined within such narrow individualistic conceptions. For the Eucharistic action is something much larger and richer than can be measured by our poor individual needs and experiences. Yet we have a share in the whole action, and a share in the Church's ministry applying that action to the needs of others, whether in the Mass itself or by means of the Sacrament reserved. This brings us to the third condition mentioned above. The co-operative action of the whole worshipping Church is involved, as in the rite itself, so also when the rite is extended in the Sacrament reserved. We can see this principle at work in the history of the practice of reservation. When the Church was a persecuted minority in the early centuries, private reservation was widely practised. The Blessed Sacrament was taken from the open communion by the laity to private houses, and there reserved for the communion of those for whom opportunities of corporate worship in the midst of a pagan world must often have been rare and difficult to obtain. When, however, these difficulties ceased, the practice was brought to an end and replaced by public and official reservation. Ultimately reservation in the open church became the rule; and this was surely a great gain. For reservation, being an extension of the Eucharistic

The Reserved Sacrament

rite, is essentially a public and corporate matter which concerns the whole body of the faithful, whether it happens to concern their own individual need of communion or not. From this point of view, the modern return to a more private practice of reservation in the peculiarly clerical form of placing the Blessed Sacrament in a locked chapel, to which the clergy alone have access, seems curiously artificial and, to say the least, difficult to justify. For how shall the mass of our people come to know of and appreciate the privilege of communion from the reserved Sacrament in case of need, if this particular form of our Lord's ministry to souls is deliberately hidden away from them, so that they never become accustomed to the thought of it?

On these grounds, then, we must hold that reservation should be under such conditions as secure the principle of access to the whole worshipping body of Christian people. Reservation is thus seen and recognized to be as much a part of the official corporate action of the Church as the Liturgy itself. But this principle has another application which demands consideration—namely, that precisely the same adoration is due to our Lord in the Sacrament reserved as is the case when we are present at the Eucharistic Liturgy. It is very widely supposed that we are concerned here with nothing more than a demand for spiritual luxuries. Such an idea strangely misrepresents the facts of the case. Let me repeat once more what those facts are:

1. Reservation is necessary that the Blessed Sacrament may be brought within the reach of all, whether sick or whole, who would otherwise certainly be deprived of their right of communion.

2. Such reservation is part of the Church's official ministry, and as such concerns the whole body of the faithful. Reservation should therefore be public and open.

3. The same adoration is due to our Lord in the Sacrament reserved as during the offering of the Mass.

It is not, then, a question of spiritual luxuries, but of the honour due to our Lord himself. The question as to how this honour can be properly shown falls under a number of aspects. In the first place, the Blessed Sacrament must be reserved under

Its Devotional Aspect

reverent conditions; and the devotional habits and practices which surround communion from the reserved Sacrament must be of such a kind that honour is done to our Lord and that devotion to him is fostered. The place of reservation should be of such a kind that it is reasonably secure from avoidable risks such as fire or even deliberate sacrilege. It should also be clearly indicated by outward marks of reverence such as a distinctive lamp with its light kept constantly burning. When the Sacrament is taken out from the church for the communion of the faithful, this action should be surrounded from first to last with such outward signs of piety and devotion as are reasonably possible. Under modern conditions it is probably wise to observe some restraint in this matter. If the Holy Sacrament must be carried through busy and crowded streets, it will be best to have as little ostentation as possible. But the faithful who may happen to be in church at the time can be warned by the use of a small bell that our Lord is going forth to feed the soul of a brother or sister who needs their prayers. So, too, when the Divine Guest enters our houses on this blessed mission, he must come to a place prepared, where he is met with outward marks of adoring love and worship. If I do not particularize further on this matter, it is not because the detailed technique of such outward piety is unimportant, but because there are a large number of parish priests amongst us who, from a wide experience, could speak of such matters with a much greater practical wisdom than I can command.

The purpose of reservation includes the communion of the dying. This means that if reservation is to achieve its purpose it must be perpetual. The Blessed Sacrament, then, will be continuously reserved in the open church; and this fact will inevitably colour the whole devotional life of those who worship there. But let us take care that we put things in their right order. We do not desire reservation simply that we may enjoy this great stimulus to the prayers which we offer in church. It is rather that such reservation is an indispensable condition for the realization of a full sacramental life of communion on the part of the worshipping congregation, and so of the parish as a whole. That is the fundamental principle. But if that is so, it follows that the devotional values and

The Reserved Sacrament

practices which accompany the fulfilment of the condition are not "luxuries," but normal concomitants of the due observance of a principle inherent in the Gospel. Where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, there our Divine Redeemer is manifested in the activity of his age-long mission to feed and renew the souls of his people with the gift of his crucified and glorified Human Life. The piety which recognizes this fact, and which hastens to greet the Lord in this his adorable self-giving, is a piety which is essentially one with the spirit and temper of the New Testament.

Adoration, then, the adoration of the Lamb slain for our salvation and yet reigning for ever upon the throne of heaven—this is the first and last word about our attitude in the presence of the Holy Sacrament reserved. Such adoration, however, will carry with it much else that belongs to the life of prayer. Experienced parish priests tell us that two great devotional gains follow upon their observance of the Gospel principle in this matter. First, there is a great increase in the volume of prayer which is offered in church, with all that this means in the way of atmosphere and enhanced spiritual power. Secondly, there is a marked increase in the number of communicants and in the frequency of communions made. In other words, there is a quickening and deepening of the whole communicant life of the parish and congregation. It could hardly be otherwise. For adoration is a true foundation upon which to build other forms of prayer. Moreover, every sincere prayer offered in the sacramental Presence binds us more closely to the communicant life, reminding us of the last act of communion and pointing forward to the next. If this be the case, how pitifully wrong is the notion (referred to earlier in this paper) that adoration, which finds its focus in the Blessed Sacrament reserved, is dissociated from communion. On the contrary, it binds us more closely to communion and assists us to all that is involved in good communions, such as well-grounded habits of penitence and the true spirit of worship, a spirit so deeply lacking in much that passes for Christianity to-day, with an increased and grateful recognition of the saving love and power of Christ, who thus tabernacles amongst us for a perpetual ministry to hungry souls in their need.

Its Devotional Aspect

The Blessed Sacrament, when reserved, is thus the normal focus of a great stream of adoration and prayer. The question, then, inevitably arises as to the specific forms in which this adoration should express itself. That question once raised, and the legitimacy of such adoration being granted, it is difficult to see on what grounds it can be supposed that the expression of the principle of adoration is to be confined to the forms of private and individual devotion. We have seen that the Church moved from practices of private reservation to an official practice of public and open reservation. In the West there followed upon this various developments of corporate adoration. The Christian religion is essentially corporate and social. It seems, then, unreasonable to hold that particular types of devotion may be allowed in our private prayers in church; but that as soon as we begin to say these prayers aloud together we have passed a border-line between what is legitimate and what is illegitimate. We cannot separate individual and corporate forms of devotion into different pigeon-holes in that way. We cannot do it in any case because it is psychologically impossible. If the Sacrament is reserved at, or near, the High Altar, then every office said corporately in choir, every public service on Sunday or week-day is offered before the sacramental Presence, and acquires from that fact a distinctive tone, in which the Blessed Sacrament inevitably becomes the focus of our corporate devotion on such occasions. If, then, there is added to the Divine Office on Sunday evening, or provided at some other time, a form of corporate devotions explicitly directed towards our Lord in his sacramental Presence, giving expression to that adoration which is in the hearts of all who worship there, no new principle is introduced. Rather a reasonable and humble recognition is given to the adorable Majesty of our Lord's Presence, and a safeguard is provided against a thoughtless and too light regard for so great and so gracious a Gift.

Such considerations must surely win their way, sooner or later, to fuller recognition. Important principles are involved which cannot be ignored. Whatever limitations it is thought right to lay upon parish priests in their desire to give concrete expression to these principles, the faithful cannot be altogether

The Reserved Sacrament

restrained from uniting to adore our Lord in his Holy Sacrament. Is it, then, desirable that unofficial and perhaps lay forms of corporate devotion should spring up, which, because they remain unrecognized and unofficial, for that very reason cannot be adequately controlled? In the early centuries, when unofficial private reservation was practised, the Holy Sacrament was sometimes put to uses which were definitely superstitious. There were instances, for example, of its being carried about on the person to protect the individual Christian from danger on his travels. Such superstitious uses were overcome, not by suppression of all reservation, but by official recognition of the principle and by its embodiment in a form which obviated such dangers. This brings us to the consideration of an important objection against what is called the extraliturgical cultus of the Blessed Sacrament. It is urged that, even though it may be right in principle to offer adoration to our Lord when we are in the presence of the reserved Sacrament, yet if such definite forms of corporate devotion become established there is real danger of abuse through a one-sided concentration upon this aspect of Christian worship in contrast to others, leading to a loss of proportion in our apprehension of the Gospel. It is important to observe that objections of this type do not necessarily involve any denial of the principle of Eucharistic adoration, even when applied to the Sacrament reserved. The anxiety expressed in such objections is shared by many who would claim to join with us in loyal adherence to the faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Holy Eucharist. They have every right therefore to claim the most serious and open-minded consideration of the difficulty which they feel.

Now there can be little doubt, I think, that dangers of abuse in connection with this cultus are by no means negligible. All popular movements of religious revival are liable to develop dangerous extravagances; and since the devotional movement which we are now considering has an essentially popular appeal, it would *a priori* be very strange if it were altogether exempt from such dangers. I would go further. It is fairly clear that since the cultus began to develop in the later Middle Ages in Western Christendom, there have

Its Devotional Aspect

been elements present in it from time to time which are most undesirable. But then it is equally certain that something of this kind could also be said about all forms of Christian worship. There were wrong and superstitious ways of regarding the Holy Eucharist itself at the close of the Middle Ages. Similarly, in the Church of England we have had a long-standing and deep-rooted abuse without parallel elsewhere in historic Christendom in the practical substitution of the Divine Office for the Lord's own service on Sundays. Yet the Reformers did not abolish the Holy Eucharist, nor has anyone in the Catholic revival proposed the abolition of the Divine Office.

The truth is that the danger of abuse and one-sidedness in methods of worship is unfortunately one which can never be adequately met by the simple policy of abolishing what has been or is likely to be misused. If that were the only remedy, I fear that some of the best things in God's world would be in danger. Moreover, the policy of making worship safe from abuse is in itself a negative policy and not a very inspiring one. There is, however, a better way. If we are to have a healthy and well-balanced devotional life, it will depend upon our preserving the due proportion of the Faith. Sound theology and a faithful ministry of teaching are the best and surest safeguards against such dangers. Piety always stands in need of godly knowledge for its purification and enlightenment. Religious emotion must be tempered with moral vision if it is to bring forth the fruits of righteousness. The Christ whom we adore in his sacramental Presence is the Eternal Wisdom of the Father and the Lord of all life. In the recently published *Letters of Baron Von Hügel*, we read that it was the frequent custom of that great religious thinker to end his walk with a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and to remain for some time in rapt devotion before the Presence. In so doing he did not leave behind his ripe wisdom and profound, yet always reverent, speculations concerning high matters of the Faith. Did he not rather consecrate these very treasures there before the tabernacle, so that knowledge and devotion were blended into one whole to the greater illumination and enrichment of the Church of God? So it was also with our

The Reserved Sacrament

dear friend and father, Bishop Frank Weston. For him the Christ of the tabernacle was the King of Righteousness, the Champion of the poor and the oppressed. We, too, must see to it that our devotion is not a poor, narrow sentimental thing. The adoration which we rightly offer to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament reserved must be fed with serious thoughts and generous interests, consecrating in turn those thoughts and interests and all the best that is in us to the service of God and of his Kingdom among men.



The Eucharistic Liturgy



Eucharistic Rites

By K. D. MACKENZIE



WE speak of the Mass as a drama. That may mean that it is something done rather than something merely said—*drama*, not merely *rhema*. But that is a doctrinal point and does not concern us this afternoon.

Again, the Mass may be called dramatic in another sense, because it is a mystical rehearsal of the redemptive acts of God. And, because *mystical*, it is far more than any mere stage representation or acted parable. It transports us to the scenes of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Calvary, Olivet, the celestial Throne; and it does this in spiritual fact, not in mere remembrance.

Or, more straightforwardly, we may mean that it is a solemn tragedy or mystery play, with its scenery, its caste of players, its book of the words, its musical score, its traditional form.

It is with the Mass as a drama in this last sense that liturgical science is chiefly concerned. Yet we must bear the second sense in mind if we are not to fall into the shallowest ritualism. There is a heavenly counterpart to the business of the sanctuary. The real Altar, the real Priest and Victim are in the heavenly places; nay, we ourselves, Host, Priest, and People are all transported thither.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

We are to consider, then, the drama of the Mass. And first we notice, what is fundamental to the whole subject, that what we are accustomed to call "Low Mass" is, from the merely liturgical or dramatic point of view, a maimed rite. It is the veriest shadow of that august assembly of the faithful, according to their grades and functions, which is implied by the ancient word *synaxis*. It is possible, no doubt, for two or three people to meet and read through the libretto of "Parsifal"; but it would have little meaning for them unless they realized how "Parsifal" is intended to be played. So it is possible—blessedly so—for two or three to gather together in the name of Christ and celebrate the Mass. He is there in the midst of them. Nothing is lacking to the completeness of the blessing to be obtained. But from the limited point of view of liturgy, much of what is done can only be understood if it is realized that they are duplicating and reduplicating parts which should normally be played by various actors.

To understand the *mise en scène* of the Mass, go back to the early part of the fourth century. This date is not chosen at random. It is the moment when the Church was first free, through the cessation of persecution, to develop her ritual as it ought to be developed; it is also the period when that ritual was fast crystallizing into definite forms.

First consider the *dramatis personæ* and their parts.

There must be singers, both soloists and chorus, for the liturgical chants. At first the soloist is most in evidence, and the people, who have no books, break in at the end of his chant, and repeat the last few notes. Later, the system of a double choir is developed, and much of the singing becomes antiphonal.

The soloists themselves are members of the order of readers, and as such are responsible for the various lessons, though the culminating lesson from the Gospel is reserved for a deacon.

In Western Christendom there are acolytes to attend on the superior ministers. Theirs is only a "walking on part."

Subdeacons are there to assist the deacons.

The deacons themselves have important and conspicuous functions which go far beyond the mere reading of the Gospel.

Eucharistic Rites

They read the lists of those for whom prayer is to be offered, they instruct the people as to the proper moments to stand or kneel, they dismiss the uninitiated, they make the Offertory, they administer the chalices; finally, they dismiss the faithful. In the East they also chant the Litanies.

Priests are less conspicuous. Their place is to form a human "crown" about the Bishop, and join their prayers to his. But in early days, in the East, at any rate, their preaching office was for a time very important. Appalling as it may appear to our modern impatience of the word of exhortation, it was customary in some places for every priest present to deliver a sermon, unless, indeed, any of them chose to pass his turn. It is perhaps hardly surprising that a little later no one but the Bishop was allowed to preach at all.

The president is normally the Bishop, though, of course, from apostolic days it had always been possible for a priest to take his place and act as his deputy. As the parochial system is developed, it becomes normal for the parish priest to celebrate, and he begins to share what had hitherto been the episcopal title of *Sacerdos*. The Celebrant's functions are: (1) to conclude the Litanies with a solemn prayer or collect; (2) to recite the Eucharistic prayer, or *Anaphora*, which is the heart of the service; (3) to break the Eucharistic bread; (4) to receive and administer Communion.

Nor are the people without their special part. At first this is confined to echoing the final words of the chants, to answering the salutations of the Bishop, and to certain well-known ejaculations: *Kyrie eleison*, "Alleluia," "Thanks be to God," "Amen," "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," and perhaps *Maranatha*, "Come, O Lord." So at the well-known words, "Holy, Holy, Holy," the faithful cannot contain their enthusiasm and break in, interrupting the solemn Eucharistic prayer. For the same reason—that they knew the words—they will all presumably join in with "Our Father," if it is said at all.

In addition we may notice what Duchesne called the "Spiritual exercises," though these, of course, had long been obsolete at the date we speak of. At the end of the service the prophets, the ecstasies, the speakers with tongues had had

The Eucharistic Liturgy

their opportunity. "There was, as it were, a liturgy of the Holy Ghost after the liturgy of Christ, a true liturgy with a real presence and communion."*

So much for the actors and their parts; now for the drama itself.

It falls into two acts, very different from each other. Sometimes, indeed, the first act was separately played.

This first act is the service of the Word, afterwards called the Mass of the Catechumens, and corresponding to what we sometimes call the Ante-Communion. This was simply a Christianized form of that service of the Synagogue to which the earliest Christians were already accustomed. It consisted only of alternating lessons and psalms, followed by the preaching and the dismissal of the uninitiated. It is represented in Anglican rite by the Epistle and Gospel only, the Gradual being strangely omitted. The modern Introit is a psalm introduced at a slightly later date, to be sung during the entrance of the Celebrant, while the Western *Kyrie* is the relic of a litany which is often to be found, with its concluding collect, as an introduction to the service.

The second act is the solemn renewal of the scene of the Upper Room. But that very scene was first enacted by a Jewish company, meeting, as Jews did week by week, on the eve of Sabbath or other festival, to usher in the solemnity by social gathering and prayer. Therefore it is not surprising that the original Eucharistic prayer itself, as we can first trace its echoes in St. Clement's epistle, seems to be indebted to the Jewish liturgical benedictions.

The first episode in Act II is a litany of intercession, followed by the Bishop's prayers. This is called the Prayer of the Faithful, and corresponds to our Prayer for the Church. Next the kiss of peace is given. Then bread and wine are brought to the altar and placed thereon by a deacon. The Celebrant recites the Eucharistic prayer. The Host is broken. The Holy Sacrament is elevated with the words "Holy things for the holy." All join in the Lord's Prayer, except perhaps in Rome, where it is doubtful if it was said at all at this date. The Bishop and

* "Christian Worship," translation S.P.C.K., p. 48.

Eucharistic Rites

people communicate, and so, after thanksgiving, the service ends.

This traditional framework of the service seems to have been universal at the beginning of the fourth century. Far earlier than this, in the middle of the second century, we find that St. Polycarp was able to say Mass in Rome without any anxious questioning of Anicetus as to "What do you do here?" Probably we are safe in assuming that the general outline of the Mass as we have sketched it here is apostolic.

The actual Eucharistic prayer could at first be varied by the Bishop at his discretion, but by the fourth century it has attained something that might be called a classical form. The Celebrant begins by calling on the Christian family to lift their hearts to heaven, and then proceeds to a solemn thanksgiving to the Eternal Father for all his wonderful works, creative, redemptive, sanctifying. Then comes the detailed and emphatic commemoration of the Last Supper, with its command: "Do this," and its affirmation and promise: "This is my Body, and this my Blood." So, then, moved by command and promise alike, in memory of his Death and Resurrection, in the hope of his Return, the Bishop, on behalf of the whole Christian people, offers the sacred gifts as a thank-offering, and prays that God will send upon them his Holy Spirit, so that all who partake thereof may receive the full blessings of Communion. Nor are the blessings of the Sacrifice limited to those who are actually present in church. A long and detailed intercession is a feature of the ancient Eucharistic prayers, and this seems the natural, as it was perhaps the original, place for it. So the prayer always ends with an ascription of praise to God in Trinity, and with the people's Amen.

It is obvious that we have here a highly developed formula, and it would be very rash to assume that the primitive method of Consecration was exactly like this. It will be worth spending a little time on trying to trace the development of the Eucharistic prayer.

In the New Testament it seems to be referred to simply as the Thanksgiving, and we are told that it is a showing of the Lord's Death. We do not hear of any explicit act of offering, but the idea of sacrifice is inherent in the rite itself, and was

The Eucharistic Liturgy

clearly present to the mind of St. Paul. Nor do we find any trace of a petition that the Sacrifice may be sanctified by the Holy Spirit. To the Jewish mind the mere fact that the sacred gifts were a thank-offering was sufficient to sanctify them. The thanksgiving *is* the consecration, but the effect of *this* consecration is defined by our Lord himself—the consecrated Gifts, those Things over which thanks have been given, are now his Body and Blood.

So in the middle of the second century, St. Justin says that the Eucharistic prayer consisted of praise to God the Father through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and that “the Food over which thanks have been given by means of the word of prayer which comes from him is the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Jesus.” The thanksgiving is still the essential thing, and there is no sign of any invocation in the later sense. On the other hand, it seems difficult to suppose that either then, or at any date, Mass could have been celebrated without an appeal to the venerable precedent of the Upper Room and to the words then spoken.

Going on another sixty years we have more evidence of the type of prayer which was in use. (We cannot say more than “type,” for, after all, the actual words still depended on the will of the Celebrant, unless he chose to use a written form.) From the early years of the third century we have an actual quotation from a liturgy used in Rome. We notice three points. There is a definite and explicit memorial of the Death and Resurrection of our Lord—what is technically called an *anamnesis*; there is a definite act of offering, and there is a petition that God will send his Holy Spirit on this oblation of his holy Church. Yet even here the invocation is not a clear and definite act of consecration; we may suppose that it was suggested by the idea that *some* prayer for blessing ought to be added to the thanksgiving; the request actually made is that God will send his Spirit on that which the Church has offered, so that feeding on it the communicants also may be filled with the same Spirit.

Soon after the conversion of Constantine we begin to have access to stereotyped liturgies, and we find that by this time they contain in all cases a definite prayer that the elements

Eucharistic Rites

may become Christ's Body and Blood for the purpose of Communion. In one case, the Egyptian prayer of Serapion (A.D. 350), the earliest complete Eucharistic prayer which we possess, the petition is that God's *Word* may come upon the elements. It seems probable from St. Justin and St. Irenæus that this was the earlier phrase; but whereas in more primitive times it merely signified God's word of power, it is possible that it had come to mean the personal Word of God, the Incarnate Logos, Jesus Christ. If this is so, it is easy to see how slight a change of emphasis would be needed to arrive at the idea, first found in St. Ambrose (A.D. 378), that the spoken words of the Word Incarnate were the all-important factor in consecration. As St. Thomas put it many centuries later :

“ Verbum caro panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit ”

“ Word made Flesh true bread he maketh
By his word his Flesh to be.”

But in every other extant Eucharistic prayer of the fourth century, except that of Serapion, it is the Holy Spirit who is invoked. Probably this was true even of the Roman rite of this date, of which no copy has survived. It is not unnatural when we remember the great theological stress which was being laid just then on the Person and work of the Holy Ghost.

Serapion's prayer and the other Egyptian rites have a preliminary prayer that God will bless the Sacrifice *before* the commemoration of the Institution, but all the Eastern liturgies have the great invocation *after* the act of oblation, and Eastern theologians, from the fourth century onwards, treat this as the effective form of consecration. To our minds this arrangement of oblation first and consecration afterwards seems very strange, for the Eastern Church is at one with ourselves in teaching that “ the Lamb of God is offered in sacrifice in the holy Liturgy.”* But the primitive conception of the sacrifice seems to have been that our offering is bread and wine, and

* Catechism of Nicolas Bulgariis.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

that God in accepting our offering makes it to be the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus the invocation came in to make it clear, so to say, what it is that we expect God to do with the bread and wine we have offered. But it seems a deeper and more Christian conception that there can be only one sacrifice, and that the sacrifice of Christ himself. Yet this conception, though implied by Holy Scripture and recognized by theologians from the fourth century in any case, has found no expression either in the primitive or the later Eastern rites. It is, indeed, the great merit of the Roman rite, when we first become acquainted with it, that it implies this deeper doctrine of the sacrifice. The invocation after the oblation has disappeared or been disguised; an exceptionally clear and distinct consecratory invocation (without mention of the Holy Spirit) is inserted before the commemoration of the Institution, praying that the sacrifice may become to us the Body and Blood of Christ, and when we come to the oblation we no longer hear of bread and wine, but of "the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation."

The written liturgies fall into two main groups, Eastern and Western. The Eastern may be subdivided into the groups of Antioch, Alexandria, and Byzantium. The Antiochene rites are still employed by various Uniate churches and by others which are nominally heretical. The Alexandrian rites are used by the Copts and Abyssinians. The Byzantine liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and "St. Gregory" (so-called) have ousted all others from the Orthodox Eastern Church, much as the Roman rite has destroyed the various Gallican liturgies in the West. We must not stay longer over these rites except to say of the Byzantine liturgies that the first two retain the general outline of the fourth century rites with the addition of a very elaborate form for the preparation of the elements. "St. Gregory" is the Mass of the Presanctified.

The Western rites are a puzzle. That of Rome was for several centuries a local peculiarity of the city of Rome and Southern Italy. All over the rest of Western Europe one form or another of the so-called Gallican rite was in use, a liturgy of ever growing elaboration, but nearer in some respects to the normal and original type. It is held by some authorities that

Eucharistic Rites

the Gallican rite represents the ordinary and normal development of the liturgy in the West, and that the Roman rite is a drastic reformation of the fourth century in the interests of shortness and simplicity. Others believe that the normal Western rite is the Roman, and that they can find definite traces of Eastern influence in the Gallican service.

It was this austere Roman rite which St. Augustine introduced into this country, and the later use of Sarum is only a local variation of the same rite, slightly Gallicanized by the French predilections of our Norman conquerors with their love of symbolism and pageantry.

The chief peculiarities of the Roman rite, at least from the sixth century, are as follows: The prayer of the faithful has disappeared, leaving behind nothing except the curious fossil of "Let us pray" before the Offertory with no prayer to follow. The kiss of peace has been postponed to a point just before Communion as had always been the custom in Africa. In the Eucharistic prayer the tone of thanksgiving dies out abruptly after the Benedictus and is replaced by petition. The intercessions and commemorations of the saints are in a state of chaos. There is, as we have seen, no invocation after the act of oblation, though Durandus in the thirteenth century was still able to speak of the section beginning *Supplices te* as having a consecratory value.

The Roman canon in its present form dates from St. Gregory, and, indeed, in all essential features the service is still as he left it. Subsequent variations are more matters of use than of rite strictly so-called.

The Gallican rite retained the very ancient feature of the "prayer of the faithful" in the form of an intercessory litany and prayer before the offertory. The kiss of peace came in its normal and original place before the *Sursum corda*. The Eucharistic prayer varied from day to day, not only in its contents, but in its whole character. Sometimes there was an invocation of the Holy Spirit like that of the developed Eastern rites, sometimes one of a more primitive type. On one day there would be an act of oblation, but not on another. It all depended on the Kalendar. There was an extraordinarily complex ritual surrounding the Fraction, and a blessing was given

The Eucharistic Liturgy

before Communion. The language of the liturgy tended to be florid and rhetorical.

About the seventh century a change of profound significance took place in the invention of Low Mass, in which there is no music, and the priest acts as his own deacon and sub-deacon while a server represents choir, acolytes, and people. If it is true that in St. Gregory's time Mass took three hours, it was certainly time for something to be done about it! But St. Gregory no doubt made full use of his episcopal privilege of preaching. From the narrowly liturgical standpoint, Low Mass may seem a mere corruption; practically, it has made possible the most far-reaching developments for priest and people alike. The highest and the holiest is compressed into a minimum of time, and compassed with the minimum of personnel. It has become easy to say Mass, to hear Mass, every day.

In the eighth and ninth centuries Gaul was in a state of liturgical chaos. Her own prayer-books were falling into contempt, the Roman books were eagerly sought after, Gallican prayers were forced with Roman ones; a mixed rite seemed to be springing up, half Gallican, half Roman. So great was the general lawlessness that at last the secular authority, Pipin the Short, decided to cure it by ordering the universal adoption of the Roman liturgy. The Mozarabic form of the "Gallican" rite had more vitality; it lingered on in Spain till the eleventh century, and is still to be found at Toledo. In the end, however, the Roman rite itself was not a little enlivened by the play of Gallic fancy, and the Gallic love of symbolism and rhetoric.

But on the whole it was the unique and distinctive Roman rite which finally ousted all other Western liturgies from the churches in communion with the Roman See. How should we consider this remarkable fact? As the survival of the fittest, or as an unfortunate instance of liturgical perversity?

Certainly for all practical purposes the Roman rite has not been unworthy to take its place as the premier rite of Christendom. Concise, dignified, restrained, businesslike, yet sufficiently varied and interesting, it keeps the mind of the Western worshipper alert where the long unchanging rites of the East would plunge it into weariness. On the other hand, it towers high

Eucharistic Rites

above the confusion of the Gallican liturgies and the crudeness, dullness, self-consciousness, and provincialism of the Reformation orders.

Yet there is much to be said for a national rite, much for the vernacular, much even for a drastic handling of what is undeniably obsolete, much for a reform which shall take account of things older and things newer than the golden age of liturgy. Such was the opportunity of our first national revision in 1549, of the revision of 1662, of that of 1927. In all these cases there is much reason to wish that our revisers had handled the opportunity somewhat otherwise; but it would be most unfair and most unscientific criticism to judge of their success as though the Roman rite were the only standard of liturgiology.

As to the proposed rite of 1927, let my words be dispassionate, objective, and few: judged by a purely liturgical standard, it must surely be held to be an improvement on that of 1662. (Of course, I am speaking only of the *Liturgy*.) The restoration of a true Eucharistic prayer, which marches direct from *Sursum corda* to Amen, is an enormous gain to our self-respect.

Yet having said so much, it is perhaps not disrespectful to the sacred Synods to offer one or two criticisms. They have decided to adopt a method of consecration which has never before been used in this country. I say "method" advisedly. There is no Catholic *doctrine* as to what is necessary for consecration. All depends on the intention of the rite which is being used. The method adopted may be a very good one. It does not seem to be primitive, but it is certainly very ancient. Yet the departure from the Western tradition of sixteen centuries is startling, and will cause much bewilderment, and not a little distress. There was no widespread demand for it, and it is viewed with the greatest repugnance by many of those whose legitimate wishes were supposed to be consulted in the provision of a new order. Indeed one might have thought that there would be few who could feel much satisfaction in the somewhat halting and equivocal form of *epiclesis* which is before us, or in that curious false echo of the Catechism which asks for bodily refreshment as a result of Holy Communion.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

Yet we may thankfully notice that the new rite does explicitly maintain the developed doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice by repeating the act of oblation after the *epiclesis*.

Again, something surely might have been done about the place of the Fraction. Consecration, Fraction, Communion; that is an order which is coeval with Christianity. In the late Middle Ages a local custom arose of making a preliminary fraction of the unconsecrated host, a custom which was promptly forbidden. It was this mediæval abuse which actually ousted the true liturgical Fraction from our liturgies of the sixteenth century, and it does seem a thousand pities that the opportunity was not taken of remedying so great a mistake.

It must, I fear, be added that we have not altogether escaped the literary pitfalls which beset the path of the prayer-maker.

In conclusion, a word about the objects of liturgy. Catholicism consecrates all life; Catholic liturgy consecrates the dramatic impulse. We are impelled by the actor who is in every one of us to live over again the great scenes of our redemption; liturgy makes it possible to do this by means of something greater than the imagination. We are impelled to acclaim the Hero of our religion; liturgy provides us not with a statue or merely symbolic representation, but with the true living Figure, yet acting a part "as it had been slain": "Blessed is he that cometh," we cry, and "O Lamb of God, have mercy upon us." We are impelled to offer some token of devotion to God; and behold God provides himself a Lamb, and liturgy says Amen. We are impelled to do the work of God beautifully; liturgy consecrates not only sight and sound, but even touch and taste and scent. In Solemn Mass "art comes full tide"; and of Low Mass a French critic once wrote: "Il n'y a qu'une chose plus belle que Parsifal: c'est n'importe quelle basse Messe en n'importe quelle église." We are impelled by every dramatic instinct to ask in our religion for unity of theme with variety of method. Let me give you the answer of Catholic liturgy in the words of an Oxford philosopher, William Wallace: "Day by day, year by year," he says, "in appointed cycle, the Church re-enacted the deed once done, the life once lived, and the death once died, not in vain repetition or impious travesty of the accomplished fact, but in

Eucharistic Rites

order to enforce by sensible image the eternal and universal virtue of . . . the way . . . to life eternal. . . . Even so, always, what God may be said to do once for all, man, the child of time, can only equal by eternal repetition.”* And, indeed, through liturgy we children of time do enter on our timeless inheritance. As George Tyrrell put it: “One instant of that immaculate life which the soul lives as it flits like a moth through the . . . flame of the Divine Presence . . . and it has lived with a fulness of life all but Divine.”†

❀ II ❀

Eucharistic Ceremonies

BY STEPHEN GASELEE AND MAURICE CHILD

 HIS paper is the joint production of two persons who hold different preferences as to the ceremonial of the Eucharist to be used in the Church of England; one of us prefers what those who favour it call the “English,” the other what is called “Western” use; the former is the modern representation, as nearly as it can be ascertained, and as nearly as it will fit the Book of Common Prayer, of the ceremonial of the Mass as it existed in this country before the Reformation; traces of something like it are still to be found in parts of Southern Europe, in Spain, and elsewhere; the latter is the modern rite of the Catholic Church in the rest of Europe and America, equally fitted, as well as may be, to our Prayer Book. We have not come here to make a gladiatorial show for your amusement, and we regret un-

* Gifford Lectures, v.

† “Hard Sayings,” p. 158.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

charitable words that have been used on both sides: the English usager will not call the other party a "Romanizer," the Westerner will not speak with a sneer of "British Museum Religion"; we propose to lay before you our differences, to state the principles on which those differences are founded, and to make some very tentative suggestions—they may be no more than inquiries—towards the future.

Some preliminary descriptive matter is necessary. The English use is not, despite the published works of Dr. Dearmer, the Alcuin Club, and others, universally known in England; there are parts of the country where it hardly exists. We assume, however, that Western ceremonial, carried out with more or less completeness, is tolerably well known to you all, and the following survey will therefore record in the briefest possible fashion the English divergencies from Western ceremonial in the Mass.

To begin with, the chancel of the church in which the Mass is said or sung will have a different appearance. Instead of an altar standing high at the east end, with six candles and a crucifix upon it, and probably a high painted or carved reredos behind it, the altar will be long and low, with two comparatively short candles on it, the cross, or crucifix—if there is one at all—also very low; if there is any reredos, it will not be more than a couple of feet high, just reaching to the sill of the east window, which will come down very nearly to the altar itself, thus making the reredos, by the paintings in its lower lights; and the altar will be flanked by curtains coming out at right angles from the east wall, supported at their western ends by posts, which may be topped by angels holding candlesticks; anything in the nature of a "retable" or a "gradine" is entirely unknown to the English use. So is a tabernacle. If the Blessed Sacrament be reserved, it is not upon the altar itself, but either in an *aumbry* in the north wall, or something like the Sacrament-house, of which the most elaborate examples are to be seen in certain German churches, or in a hanging pyx, high above the altar, probably in the shape of a dove. No flowers nor flower-vases are ever placed on the English altar.

When the sacred ministers proceed to the altar, it will be

Eucharistic Ceremonies

seen that their vestments differ somewhat (in degree, though not in kind) from those used by Westerners. The priest's chasuble is both longer and fuller, falling lower in front and behind, and coming further down over the arms: it is indeed a more developed form of the Gothic chasuble properly used by Westerners in churches of Gothic style of architecture. So, too, the dalmatic and tunicle of the deacon and subdeacon are larger than those now worn in the West; if there is only one assistant minister, he will wear dalmatic or tunicle—there is no absolute requirement of three clergy for something like a High Mass. All the assistants near the altar will wear albs, with or without tunicles—no surplices or cottas, though some of the boys may have a sleeved or winged rochet; and the amices and albs of all, clergy and assistants, will bear apparels. None of the clergy will wear birettas, or any other head-covering. The sequence of liturgical colours will be different from that familiar in the Western use, but that is a minor point that need not detain us here. The procession enters in this order: verger (as far as the choir-gate), taperers, thurifer, clerk (carrying the service book), subdeacon (carrying the book of the Gospels), deacon, priest; if there is a procession, it goes in this order, the priest followed by the chanters, choirmen, choirboys, and any other clergy who may be present.

There is no preparation said by the clergy before the altar, unless they treat as such the opening Paternoster and the Collect for Purity, which are historically part of the priest's preparation; the priest kisses the *mensa*, blesses the incense, censes the altar, and then begins the Mass; he turns to the people for the Commandments, or recites them from a lectern, goes to the south side for the collect, and then takes the deacon with him to the sedilia, while the subdeacon reads the epistle; the subdeacon should go to a lectern or ambo on the epistle side for the purpose. This ended, and while the gradual is sung, the deacon rises and censes the altar, and then proceeds to a lectern or ambo on the gospel side, or to the rood-loft; the priest stands before the middle of the altar, facing the deacon, who first censes the gospel book and then reads the Gospel, while the subdeacon supports the ambo from behind, or, if he is reading from a pulpit, enters it with him; the

The Eucharistic Liturgy

clerk stands behind the subdeacon with the cross, while the thurifer swings the censer behind the reading deacon; this over, the deacon hands the gospel book to the subdeacon, who places it on the north corner of the altar. Then follows the Creed, and then the sermon; and as the priest returns to the altar at the end of the sermon a ceremony takes place which is almost wholly absent in the Western rite.

The clerk, accompanied by the thurifer, goes to the altar in a side-chapel (if there is one—if not, to the credence table), where the sacred elements, already prepared, are waiting. He places a long and narrow humeral veil round his shoulders, with the ends of which he muffles his hands, and thus takes up the chalice and paten, and brings them to the high altar; the taperers meet him at the choir-gate, and the little procession goes up to the sacred ministers; the deacon takes the elements from the clerk and hands them to the priest, who places them on the altar and censes them; the priest is then censed by the deacon, the deacon by the clerk; the thurifer then removes the censer, and no more incense is used for the rest of the service.

For the prayer for the Church Militant the deacon stands behind the priest, the subdeacon behind the deacon, moving a little aside when the priest faces the people for the *Sursum Corda*, and returning behind him when he turns again to the altar for the Preface; they keep this order, save for the prayer of Humble Access, until after the Consecration and the priest's communion, when the deacon takes the chalice for the communion of the people; this done, he hands the pall, or second corporal, to the priest, who covers the elements with it, and they resume their old places; they go up to either side of the priest for the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and after the Blessing assist the priest with the ablutions; they go out in the order, taperers, thurifer, clerk (again carrying the sacred vessels in his hands muffled with the ends of the humeral veil), subdeacon, deacon, priest. No last Gospel is read from the southern corner of the altar.

Usually, and in churches where the most ancient type of ceremonial is preserved, throughout the service the absence of the gesture called the "genuflexion" will have been noticed;

Eucharistic Ceremonies

its place is taken by a deep and reverent bow, slightly bending one knee, which does not touch the ground.

Let us now consider the motives of those who follow these two varying uses; but let us first clear out of the way two false motives; we do not believe that they are seriously held by either party, but they are rather alleged from outside to be in their minds; neither will bear a moment's serious investigation.

First, the English usager will not buy off Protestant or latitudinarian opposition by his English usage; their hostility to his pre-Reformation use is no less than that which they would exhibit if he followed purely Roman minutiae. Indeed, he has been criticized for adopting "an even more puerile and superstitious" ceremonial than that of the modern Latin Church itself. His satisfaction will be purely *in foro interno*.

Second, the Westerner does not think that his following the outward forms of the modern Church of the West will induce Roman Catholics, of any or no standing, to regard him with greater favour or show a more brotherly disposition towards him. It is even probable that Roman Catholics, especially in England, do not like what they consider too close an imitation of their own ways; and in the higher and more learned circles of the Roman Church the old tendency towards universal "Latinization" has been to a great extent reversed; the Uniats are strictly enjoined to keep their own ritual and ceremonial in their ancient purity, and to admit no Latin admixtures.

Now that we have got the false motives out of the way, let us examine the true motives.

The English usager has the satisfaction of compliance with the letter of the Law. Whether the Ornaments Rubric means exactly what it says, and commands the ornaments of the Church and priest to be precisely what they were at a given moment of history, or whether it refers to the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., the English use obeys it literally. During the last twenty years research has determined, with a considerable degree of accuracy, the appearance of the altar and its ministers in 1549 and immediately before, and the results of

The Eucharistic Liturgy

that research have been made easily accessible by the publications of the Alcuin Club: if a man wishes to follow the injunctions of the Ornaments Rubric with meticulous care, it is now easy for him to do it.

This is the strongest part of the English usager's case; but there is another not unimportant consideration. He claims that his ceremonial is more beautiful and comely than the other, being the product of a more artistic age, and the most enthusiastic Westerner will admit that the ceremonial revival came at an unfortunate moment; ceremonial (and all church trappings) had not recovered on the Continent from a long period of degradation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when our fathers of the Oxford Movement had to look abroad for models, so much having been forgotten at home. Further, some ninety per cent. of the churches in England are of various styles of Gothic, either original or of the revival, and it is more natural, and artistically more correct, claims the English usager, to perform in them a ceremonial evolved in the Gothic age than to adopt one which has something Romanesque by the time and place of its evolution.

The Westerner's feelings on the matter are very comprehensible: we have a convenient and orderly ceremonial, worked out by experts, in full operation throughout the Continent of Europe; in it we have a safe guide for anything we can possibly want. Further, "ceremony follows patriarchate," if we may vary a well-worn phrase, and though it is not of faith, it is seemly to follow the Bishop of Rome in the ceremonial which he has succeeded in inducing the rest of the West to adopt. To the arguments of the English usager detailed above, he will possibly reply with a parable: that of a family, once well off, which fell into several years of poverty, during which it lived in making use of any old clothes and furniture which came its way. When that family recovers its fortune and is able to set up house again, will it go to great trouble to procure clothes, furniture, domestic utensils, etc., of the exact style prevalent when it lost its fortune? No, it will buy the best it can of the fashions reigning at the time of its restoration to prosperity. So with the Church of England.

We trust that we have put these two views fairly before you,

Eucharistic Ceremonies

so that each will recognize the strength both of his own and of the other party's case. We have spoken of the past; we have now the more difficult task of endeavouring to look forward into the future.

We do not think that either view will ever totally disappear in favour of the other; they represent two types of mind, as there is both Saxon and Latin in our race and language.

But a revised Liturgy, if and when we have one, will give an opportunity for reflection on this as on many other subjects; and we ask the question—we can do no more—whether it may not present the occasion for a greater degree of harmony, and whether it is not possible that a ceremonial will evolve itself which combines the best of both uses. Liturgiology, if it is a live art, as we believe it to be, is not fixed for ever in an unalterable mould, but is capable of development; if we can get a large and thinking public, both clerical and lay, interested in it, working at it, thinking about it, at least it is possible that in time a ceremonial will appear which will be both English and Western. To both of us, for instance, the ceremony of the solemn bringing of the elements from an altar in a side-chapel to the altar of the day's sacrifice appears beautiful and significant, with the additional advantage of preserving a point of contact, lost elsewhere in the West, with our Eastern fellow-Christians; it is inconceivable that there can be any doctrinal objection to it, and its use at every High Mass would surely be nothing but gain.

Among the minor beauties of the English use which we should be glad to see universal, we may mention the presence of a couple of cantors, usually in copes, at the choir-gates, leading the singing: among modern fashions which it avoids, and which we should be glad to see entirely away, is the use of scarlet cassocks by servers, making a blotch of colour which can hardly be stood by the internal decorations of any average church. We also commend the comparatively small periods of kneeling (at High Mass), and think that this posture should especially be avoided by the choir. We equally commend the absence of certain Southern European actions, the kissing of hands and of various objects, which will never be really agree-

The Eucharistic Liturgy

able to the English mind. We further consider that the restoration of the pre-Reformation sequences, now becoming familiar to congregations through the "English Hymnal," is valuable as tending towards a change we must all desire, the recovery of the "proper" of the Mass, and the use of it (in large measure) instead of hymns.

On the other hand, the reading of the last Gospel at the altar (in the English rite it was said privately by the priest as he returned to the sacristy) is a ceremony now almost universal in the West, and familiar to three or four generations of Anglicans. It has lost certain disadvantages which once accompanied it (for there is evidence of its use in the distant past for some unworthy purposes), and it is a simple and eminently evangelical practice. Its universal restoration among us should cause no searchings of heart.

Among the other advantages of the Western use, we place the stress which it lays upon the value of ceremonial and the importance of taking the greatest care of details; and in respect of specific acts we admit that in the English use the great ceremonial moment seems to be rather at the Gospel than at the consecration, so that the use of incense (not necessarily ceremonial censings) at that climax appears to us desirable. We also think that we should say a word on a somewhat vexed question—the place of the ablutions. The English practice does, or at least seems to, conform with the rubric; but, as often carried out, it somewhat distorts the conclusion of the Liturgy, which should not be converted towards its close into a Mass of Exposition. If the elements are retained on the altar from the Communion until after the Blessing, they should be literally regarded as *covered* with the fair linen cloth, and not treated with outward acts of worship; if there are some who find this, from a sense of reverence, a difficult course, the place of the ablutions soon after Communion will probably commend itself.

These are but a few examples out of many that could be adduced, and you will easily think of other lines of ultimate harmony. We would not push "conflation" of uses to extremes, but we think that a *rapprochement* on the lines indicated is at least a possibility.

Eucharistic Ceremonies

We must leave you on lines of thought tending in this direction. We have had to compress a wide subject within narrow limits, and we ask for no more at present than study of the position taken on both sides, and a charitable attitude by each towards the other. The more we understand, the better shall we like each other and his ways!



Eucharistic Worship



The Principles of Christian Worship

By CHARLES WALSHAM HUTCHINSON



THE subject title of the address that I have with great trepidation undertaken to speak upon suggests, I am afraid, a theological discourse of great profundity.

I have no qualifications to deal with the subject theologically, and when I try to speak to you of Christian worship it will be from the point of view of the parish priest. I shall speak to you of the Mass as one has experienced it as the centre of life and work in a little corner of South-East London, and at the heart of a great camp family of boys by the sea.

One of the great difficulties that confronts us to-day in our endeavour to commend the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the men and women of our generation, is the modern habit of mind which tends to regard religion as a medicine for the needs of some—and those psychologically sick-people, or a solace for the unhappy and repressed, or as an occupation, a recreation for such as are insufficiently engaged in employment.

An increasing number of people have come, of recent years, to dispense with religion. They get on without it. They establish for themselves a working moral code of some kind, a standard of professional honour or æsthetic sincerity, and it

Principles of Christian Worship

appears to serve them very well. They lead unselfish, industrious lives to which revealed religion seems to be irrelevant. They are profoundly uneasy about it at times, especially when it comes to dealing with the frank questions that spring from the deeply religious instincts of their children.

I heard the other day of a child—a seven-year-old—of very delightful, clever, puzzled, agnostic parents, who called a friend of her mother's to her bedside and said:

"Come back to me when Mummy has gone down. I've something fearfully important to ask you." And when she returned the child posed her with, "Do you believe in God?" and to the hesitating, uneasy reply, "Well, dear, I don't know," the child burst out: "Mummy and Daddy don't, but *Binky and I do*," and went on to describe how she and Binky were wont to say their prayers daily in the garden behind the potting-shed!

In the main they dispense with God, but at moments of great joy and great sorrow they are aware of a void that envelops them with a devastating loneliness. Who was it said that the most tragic moment for an agnostic was not so much to have no Heavenly Father or Divine Companion to turn to when passing through a Valley of the Shadow, but in moments of joy and happiness to have nobody to thank?

How is it that this estrangement between religion and reality has crept in? How is it that the field commonly recognized to be the preserve of religion has dwindled and shrunk to a few poor acres, and that, in the opinion of so many, such a huge track of human interests and activities lies without its scope?

I am not able to make a profound analysis, but it seems clear that Protestantism is answerable for this attenuation of religion.

Always on the borders of the Catholic world there stood the dualistic religions of the East, with their conception of a world of matter for which God was not responsible—thoroughly bad, to be sloughed off—incapable of redemption and sublimation. Catholicism was always in conflict with these ideas, and they had to be dealt with in many shapes and forms in one heresy after another.

Eucharistic Worship

They engendered a false asceticism—asceticism for its own sake, because the body is evil and the world is perishing—*not* in the interests of life, because the world has been redeemed.

At the Reformation these ideas found their way into the common stock of European Christian thought. There was a return, moreover, to Old Testament standards, and a reversion to Old Testament *taboos*. All the ideas associated with the Hebrew Sabbath came back to plague and confuse us, as if Blessed Paul had never fought a good fight and withstood them, and kept the Faith for us free from the dead-weight of Jewish customs.

As a child I sat beneath a black-gowned preacher who denounced indiscriminately the Drama, the Gaming Table, Cards, Dancing, and the Juice of the Grape. Everything in the world that seemed worth doing was *verboden*. Small wonder if I, too, registered a resolve that when I had achieved the emancipation of adulthood, I, too, would follow the paternal example and put on an easy coat and select a stout ash-plant and whistle for the dog, what time the ranks of reluctant and uncomfortable children were being marshalled to church.

Why, I asked myself, did people afflict themselves with this intolerable Sunday penance? From their joyless faces it was obviously no fun to them. If they could, in the poverty of their imaginations, think of nothing better to do, *I* could. Constrained by custom, they held to this weekly penance.

It holds them no longer—God be thanked! But many have found nothing to take its place, and the old ideas survive. They still tend to think of religion as an inconsiderable department of life, instead of the whole of it. They conceive of worship merely in terms of church attendance—a profound mistake.

The supreme value of the Mass is that it demonstrates so clearly the unity of life, the consecration of creatures; it is the supreme act of a redeemed humanity in a redeemed world.

Life *is* worship. God is honoured by the right use of creatures, qualities, gifts. God made us to know him, love him, and serve him here, and to be happy with him for ever. He made us capable of knowing him, loving him, and serving

Principles of Christian Worship

him. If we turn a delicate instrument, shaped for a particular task, to rough and alien ends, we blunt and spoil the instrument, we fail in our attempt to do the secondary task, and the great primary task remains undone.

Man is restless and unhappy, oppressed with a sense of sterility and futility, if he pursues any other ends but to know God with his wits, and in him all truth: to love God with his affections, and in him all creatures: and to serve God with all his faculties and his brethren in Christ.

Worship is using these faculties aright. It covers the whole of life—not a little parcel of it—the great span which embraces the vast unseen world. God is praised when we use the gifts he gave us aright, heartily, and thankfully.

To eat when we are hungry, to drink when we thirst, to dance, to sing, to cleave the water with a strong arm is to praise and glorify God. To run, to ride, to swim, to sleep when the day's work is over—all, all is worship—in all God is praised and glorified.

Our thanks, which are “shown forth in our lives,” have, however, their specialized activity in worship and sacrament. If you ask a guest to your house, you provide for him in your solicitude such things as will please him. You don't require him always to be thanking you “in as many words,” but you rejoice to see him using gratefully and freely the good things of your bounty. He will thank you in a definite act, and that act will express and give articulation to that thankful use of your hospitality in which you have rejoiced.

Is it not so with our Heavenly Father? and does not the Mass express joyously and triumphantly that confident and thankful use of creatures? In it is set forth upon our altars the eternal principle of the Incarnation.

Christ has taken the bread and the wine, the daily bread by which our bodies live and the wine whereby we are refreshed, and made them the eternal medium of supernatural grace.

They become his vesture; he stands among us consecrating them for us, redeeming them and us.

Does it not set forth, in challenge to the outworn negations and *taboos*, the triumphant sacring of all things in Christ?

Eucharistic Worship

And as men and women of to-day break away and disengage themselves impatiently from the dreary fears and timidities of Protestantism, let it be the glory of the Anglo-Catholic Revival to set before them this Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, consecrating all good things, all human activities, all human pain and discipline in the adorable mysteries of the Mass.

Christian worship, then, is primarily the giving of expression to the principle of praising God in the right use of his gifts. In the Mass is set forth eternally the Divine assumption of our human nature, transmuting all leaden human things to gold by the irresistible alchemy of his love.

At every Mass we go up with shepherds and with kings to see the wonder God wrought for men. It is the highest, noblest, and most satisfying expression of joy and thankfulness. What other service could I give my boys at camp—with the strong sun over us, and the sea sounding in our ears as we come streaming into the little chapel that is as beautiful as we can make it? What else expresses so gloriously the gaiety and the splendour of that experience? It is so felt, too, by the boys themselves. Although attendance is quite voluntary, the altars are thronged day by day with sunburnt, bare-legged boys.

In the Mass is set forth also the consecration of human pain and discipline. The sadness of life consists not so much in the presence of pain and suffering, but in the dumb and sullen and resentful bearing of pain by those who have not offered it to God, along with the Passion of our Redeemer. It is the only contribution of any avail, and it is a tremendous contribution, and in the Mass it is eternally set forth.

In the midst of the dark courts and alleys where Christ suffers in the person of his children, the daily offering of the Holy Sacrifice emphasizes the redemptive character of human pain when consecrated and offered up to the Father in union with the saving Passion of Christ.

Our last word. The Mass is a great liberation of the spirit for the children of God.

One of the most devastating things about modern life is the conviction that comes to men as they grow older that the sense of freedom that belonged (in spite of all inhibitions) to childhood and youth is an illusion. That they are shut in and

Principles of Christian Worship

circumscribed by a number of factors over which they have no control. "To crawl along a blooming drain-pipe until you die"—as one of Mr. Wells' characters puts it. Heredity and environment between them have constructed a net in which the human spirit in its more discouraged moments struggles desperately, and then settles down helplessly like a caged bird.

There are things we may never do, being the men and women that we are, heights we may never climb, lands we may never explore—experiences that may never be ours. All the mastery of nature, won for us by the skill of man, cannot widen that forlorn horizon. There is only one thing can do it for us—experience of God.

Every Mass is for the soul an experience of God. Every Mass is an escape for the soul out of the net. "The snare is broken and we are delivered." God—we sometimes forget—is not only a Person but a Country.

In Catholic worship we escape from that stuffy back attic which is self into that open country which is God. The containing walls are down; our feet are out of the stocks; we are out on the hills where the winds of the spirit blow—not alone but in glorious company.

The priest standing at the altar has behind him the darkness, the gloom, the failures, the fetters of our poor humanity. Before him stretches the light and splendour of the Kingdom. At that meeting-place of human faith and hope and aspiration, with the downward sweep of God's wondrous love and power, a marvellous liberation comes to the Christian soul—the light floods over into darkened, confused ways of men, and we feel within us the fruits of his redemption. "Who maketh us afraid?" "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

The abiding note of the Mass is the note of joy. "I will go unto the altar of God, even to the God of my joy and gladness," says the priest at the altar step. However grey may be the skies, it is always sunshine when we come to the altar of God. However dark may be the dawn, it is always springtime when we approach the Blessed Sacrament.

Let us then make the Mass the centre of our lives, in joy

Eucharistic Worship

and in sorrow, the focus of all our activities, because it alone gives significance to them all.

Let the antiphon for the Preparation resound on the *leit-motif* of our lives:

“I will go unto the altar of God, even to the God of my joy and gladness.”

❁ II ❁

The Sunday Eucharist

By G. H. CLAYTON



Y purpose in this paper is not theological. During the Congress you have had put before you by theologians the various aspects of the Holy Eucharist. Neither is it my business to make suggestions as to the best way of arranging the services in our churches on Sunday mornings. The circumstances of our parishes differ too widely for that to be profitable. In some places it is practicable and desirable that all the worshippers should come together in a great service of Corporate Communion, held at an hour when the observance of the rule of Fasting Communion is reasonably possible. In other places the main Sunday Eucharist will be a service of Corporate Worship, held at a later hour, attended mainly by those who have made their Communion at an earlier hour. Such arrangements must vary. The one thing which is essential is that it should be made clear to all, not only by the teaching that is given, but also by the arrangement and ordering of the services—that the main act of Christian worship is the Eucharist.

To all of us here that is a truism. It is not so to everyone. There are very many who think that the Holy Communion is so sacred a service that reverence demands that it should be

The Sunday Eucharist

celebrated in quiet, in the presence of those only who have made careful preparation and who propose to make their Communion. To such people a great Eucharistic service, with the traditional ceremonial, in the presence of many who are not communicants, seems rather vulgar. What are we to say to such people? One answer is that our Lord, when he took human nature and lived a human life on earth, did not withdraw himself from the sight of the multitude. He exposed his sacred Body to the rough usage and to the blasphemies of men. Again, it is true that the Holy Eucharist is indeed a sacred thing. But then any approach to God in prayer and worship is a sacred thing. Our purpose is to teach the multitude what worship is, that, entering into a church which is full of the atmosphere of reverence, they may themselves be caught up into a spirit of reverence. That is far more likely to happen at a Eucharist than at any other service.

But such considerations are not the fundamental ones. Why do we insist, in the face of much opposition and misunderstanding, that the Eucharist must be the great act of corporate worship? For most of us, perhaps, it is enough to say that so it has seemed good to the Holy Ghost, who has taught the Church in every age that the right way to observe the Lord's Day is to assist at the Lord's service, and that nothing can take the place of this. But our Lord calls his disciples friends, not servants, because they understand what their Lord doeth; and I think we can go behind the tradition of the Catholic Church, and can ask ourselves why the Church has taught what she has taught. The answer is not difficult to find. Our only right of access to the Presence of God—for prayer, for adoration, for any purpose—is based upon the Sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by his Passion has opened to us the road to God. And this fundamental truth of our religion is best expressed and made clear to all men by Eucharistic worship. For in Eucharistic worship we represent before the Father that great Sacrifice, and under its shadow approach him ourselves in worship and intercession. The Eucharist is the great act of Christian worship because in its very essence it is an approach to the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord. God had taught his people

Eucharistic Worship

of old to approach him by the way of sacrifice. It is by the way of sacrifice that we must approach him still. And, therefore, on the Lord's Day we Christians, in our main act of worship, approach the Father under the shadow of the perfect Sacrifice of Christ. That is what we do in the Eucharist.

Some of our fellow-churchmen would admit this. But they would say that to make the Eucharist the principal service of Sunday morning is to ask too much of our people. It is pointed out that there are many who are willing to come to Morning Prayer, but who are not willing to join in Eucharistic worship. There are, of course, some who conscientiously disapprove of the encouragement of non-communicating attendance. But I am convinced that the majority of those who prefer Morning Prayer do so because the Eucharist makes greater demands upon them—not intellectually, but spiritually; and those who regard church-going as a kind of parade, if there are any such left, certainly prefer Morning Prayer. "If there are any such left," for the conventional church-goer is rapidly disappearing. I do not think that conventional church-going was worthless. But, whether it be worthless, or whether it be valuable, it is almost at an end. What a priest has to do to-day is to provide a Sunday morning service for his people which can both express and stimulate their instinct for worship. He will be wasting his time if he tries to provide a service on Sunday morning which is to attract the conventional church-goer. There are many, at present outsiders, who want some religion, and know religion when they see it. We need to provide a service which is such that if any of these find their way to it they may become aware that this is the real thing. There are two things which are needed if that impression is to be produced—first, that the service should be one in which something happens; secondly, that the congregation should be obviously in earnest. I think there is no doubt that the service which is most likely to be used by God in converting the outsider is a parish Eucharist.

This is found to be so in experience, and it is what we should expect. For consider what happens in the Eucharist. From beginning to end the whole service hinges on the Pre-

The Sunday Eucharist

sence of Christ, as Priest, offering a sacrifice; as Victim, for the sacrifice is himself. The spiritual world is all around us. We partly belong to it and partly to the world of matter. But in the Eucharist, we, earthbound as we are, are admitted to be present at and to take our part in the great fact of the spiritual world—that is, the Sacrifice of Christ, the Son of God. In the spiritual world there is no before and after; there is no separation caused by space or time. Christ died for us on the cross. Christ pleads for us in Heaven. They are parts of one act, and here on earth we are admitted into the Presence of this Eternal Sacrifice of the Eternal Priest, not merely as spectators—as members of his Body we take our part with him in the offering of his Sacrifice; and so in the Sunday Eucharist we come to worship him who died for us, to thank him for dying for us, making thankful remembrance of his Death. We come to pray to the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord, who takes our feeble prayers and offers them with his most perfect prayer to his Father. And we come to say that we want to offer ourselves to him for his service, because we want to be like Christ, and because we know that, so long as we keep close to Christ, even our service will be of some use to God in carrying out his purpose for the world. And so the Eucharist is the service for the corporate worship of a parish. No other service can take its place. It is the service for the sinner who is conscious of his sin; it is the service for the man who is oppressed by the sinfulness of the world; for in it he can cast his sins and the sins of the world upon the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world. It is the service for the philanthropist who wants to serve man; for here by contemplation of the Cross, while Calvary is enacted before his eyes, he can renew his ideals of self-sacrifice, and offer himself to God a living sacrifice in union with the Sacrifice of Christ. It is the service for the man who wants to pray. For he can unite his prayers with the perfect intercession of Christ, the Perfect Intercessor, knowing that all that is good in them will be taken by Christ and offered by him, purified and strengthened by his sacrifice, before the Father's throne. For here we are taken right to the heart of the supreme fact of the spiritual world. And that

Eucharistic Worship

is why the Sunday Eucharist is unpopular with people who do not like to be brought face to face with realities. There are others, indeed, who object to it on grounds which, though we believe them to be mistaken, are yet worthy of respect. With those objections others, who have read the theological papers, have dealt. But in any parish the chief objection comes from those to whom religion is one part of the respectability which is their aim, those to whom the martyrs would have seemed fanatical and enthusiasm just a little ungentlemanly. And of such objectors the Church, which is Christ's Body, must take as little heed as Christ himself.

So, then, the Eucharist is to be the principal service of Sunday morning. And the Eucharist is a service of offering. In it we take our part in the offering of Christ to the Father; but in union with him we offer ourselves and all that we have and are. And so a parish Eucharist must be the offering of all that the parish has and is. It is the people of the place, their interests, their offerings, their powers that are to be dedicated to God in the parish Eucharist. It is entirely right that there should be Catholic cathedral services, in which all the beauty of music and art should be employed in the worship of God. But in the majority of parishes the Sunday Eucharist must be the expression of the worship of the people of the place. Sometimes what is lacking is the point of contact with the people. The service is an attempt at the expression of the ideals of the priest, but to the people it seems to be in the air, remote from reality, having no relation to them and to their lives. It is true that there ought to be something of mystery about the service, something unearthly, something that they cannot wholly understand. But all the same there must be something which they can grip, something homely, something belonging to the world they know. The bread and wine are to be provided at the charges of the parishioners. This is a symbol that the offering is their offering, the praise their praise, the prayers their prayers. I do not believe that the majority of people in this country will ever feel that this is so unless they hear what is going on. They have what seems to some of us an unreasonable desire to follow prayers in books. The desire may be unreasonable, but it is at any

The Sunday Eucharist

rate harmless, and should be gratified. If by the services in church the people's musical taste can be improved, that is all to the good. But if the attempt to bring about that desirable result prevents them from feeling that the praise which is offered is their praise, then we are in danger of putting culture before religion. I would not be misunderstood. Bad music leads to bad religion. Sentimental music leads to sentimental religion. And there is far too much of that to-day. Yet simplicity and tunefulness are not necessarily sentimental. As to ceremonial, there are more important things than liturgical correctness. And yet it remains true that divergencies are very unlikely to be improvements, and that a carefully ordered ceremonial is far more impressive and no less homely than a slovenly one. There is one other point in connection with the Sunday Eucharist that seems worth mentioning. The Reformers laid great stress upon the close association of the Ministry of the Word with the Ministry of the Sacraments. I believe that in this point they were clearly right. The strength of the Christian Church in her early days was that she combined mysteries with morals. Some of her rivals were mystery-religions. Others of her rivals were philosophical systems. She combined the strong points of both. She had her mysteries; but with her mysteries she had a strong intellectual and historical position, and a stern moral law that without holiness no man should see the Lord. And the sermon at the Sunday Eucharist should be the safeguard that Christianity does not degenerate into a mere mystery-religion. Let no man say that sermons are out of date. Many people will only come to church once on a Sunday. We say that they must come to the Eucharist. Then at the Eucharist they must not only worship, but they must be taught. Our Lord is not only Priest and Victim, he is also Prophet. And a mark of his kingdom is that the poor have the Gospel preached to them. Cranks and heretics of various kinds get large and willing audiences. The men and women, the boys and girls who worship in our churches have to meet all kinds of opposition outside our churches. No opportunity should be missed of teaching them and strengthening them in the faith.

Eucharistic Worship

One last point. If our Sunday Eucharist is to us no more than a beautiful service, if it is just an æsthetic satisfaction or an emotional thrill, then, indeed, the strictures of our critics are justified. But then we have not penetrated to the secret of the Catholic Religion. For Sacraments are the outward expression of an inward reality, and if the inward reality is not there, the outward expression becomes a mockery and a sham. Our Sunday Eucharist must be before all things a Sacrifice. The inner meaning of the Sacrifice of Christ is expressed in the words: "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." It was not his death, but his willingness to die. Its appropriate outward expression was his Death on Calvary, the perfect outward expression of a perfect self-oblation. What Christ is, the Church must be; for the Church is his Body. If Christ is Priest, the Church must be priestly. It was a Presbyterian divine who said: "All who allow that our Lord is a priest in heaven must acknowledge the priestliness of the Church on earth." Christ's priesthood is the offering of himself as a perfect Sacrifice: its outward expression was Calvary, the perfect expression of an inward thing which was itself perfect. The Church as Christ's Body is priestly. She needs an outward expression and an inward reality of sacrifice. The outward expression is the Eucharist. The inward spirit must be her self-oblation to the Father. Some say that, provided that there is the inward spirit, no outward expression is needed. They are wrong. That is contrary to what we know of human life, and it is contradicted by the Gospel. For Christ's inner spirit of self-oblation found external expression in the Cross. And the Church needs something that is external in order to express and stimulate, through expression, the inward spirit. But perhaps there is nothing worse than the survival of the outward as a form which expresses no inward spirit. For the Church to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice when the mark of Sacrifice is not on her life is formalism indeed. And for us to go to Mass and outwardly to take our part in the Sacrifice, while all the time we are living lives of selfishness and self-indulgence, is equally without value. Never let us forget that the Mass must be for us the outward expression of an inward reality. It is as we remember that the Mass is a sacri-

The Sunday Eucharist

fice that we shall find that it will stimulate in us the spirit of self-oblation which it expresses.

The Church is the Body of Christ. Each congregation is a microcosm of the Church. Each congregation is in its measure a Body of Christ, set to represent Christ in its district. What as a matter of historical fact has been the appeal of Christ to the world? It is not the picture of Christ Risen and Ascended, enthroned as King of the world. It has been rather Christ hanging on his cross. It is the Crucifix which has won the hearts of men, Christ dying for the love of men. I do not suppose that there is a parish in this country where the Catholic Religion is not face to face with odds which are so great that, humanly speaking, it has no chance of victory. Yet we believe that the Catholic Religion is going to win. How is it going to win? By the same means by which Christ won, by showing clearly in the sight of all men the marks of sacrifice. It is when we realize that that we see the real significance of the Sunday Eucharist—not just a beautiful service with expensive vestments and glorious music, but the outward expression of that spirit of self-sacrifice which, united with, and purified and strengthened by, the perfect sacrifice of Christ, shall in his strength and by his grace win the world for him.



Concluding Speech

BY THE BISHOP OF NASSAU (CHAIRMAN)



Y very dear friends, my words to you to-night will be very few, but I want to be allowed to begin with one personal word. I do not think that ever in the whole of my life have I dreaded an ordeal so much as this which has been thrust upon me of being Chairman of an Anglo-Catholic Congress. It was not only because I felt myself to be following in the steps of one whose shoe latchet I am unworthy to unloose, but because of the extraordinary difficulties of the situation in the Church at the present time and the responsibility imposed upon one trying to steer the right course. But I must tell you that I have found it all ever so much easier than I had dreamed that it possibly could be, because of the spirit there has been among you all, and the wonderful help that you have given me. I have been very conscious all through the Congress of the very careful attention that was being paid, and the earnestness and reverence in every corner of this vast hall, combined with cheerful good-humour. There has not been a note struck, I think, that one could have regretted, and it has been a very great delight to have the Bishop of Milwaukee beside me.

You may remember that I ventured to suggest to you at the beginning of the Congress a motto which I have tried to put before myself, the words with which the priest completes the offering at Mass: "*In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te.*" Humility does not mean self-depreciation; self-depreciation may even be in some cases a subtle form of pride. Humility, I think, might be summed up in the words: "I can do all things through Christ, who

Concluding Speech

strengthens me." Humility is looking up to Christ all the while.

We have had a good deal of stress laid at one time or another upon the greatness of this Congress Movement—what a very big thing it has become; and one knows that the Anglo-Catholic—I will call it party or school or group, or whatever you like—has gained a measure of respect from all quarters in the Church of England such as a few years ago it never dared to expect. Now there are certain perils in responsibility, and I think we shall do well to remember that the greatness of this country of ours, its expansion as a worldwide influence, has been due to the adventurers—to men who went off on lines of their own, and were even disavowed by the country, but the fruits of whose labours the country was afterwards glad enough to reap. The Bishop of London, when he addressed that great missionary meeting the other day, gave us a slogan: "The whole Faith for the whole world." The whole Faith. I was very glad that Father Heald, in his appeal to-night, emphasized that word "offensive." We have got a strong position to-day, we are firmly entrenched in a position out of which we cannot be driven, and I, personally, cannot understand that there should be in critical times, such as the present, any spirit of panic. The fact that we may come up against difficulties in the near future ought to call out all the best that is in us. But I want to say this—there are more ways of fighting than one. We honour the great men of the past who fought the battle, the adventurers who went off on voyages of their own, discouraged and disavowed, the fruits of whose labours we are reaping; but I want you to remember this—it was not merely because this priest or that was disobedient to authority that the battle was won. It was by the driving force of his own personal holiness, and it is the driving force of personal holiness that we shall need if our advance is to be carried forward to a new front line. How one longs for the day when one will be able to see the altars of our churches crowded with as many men as women!

I suppose that one of the natural outcomes of this great Eucharistic Congress will be a tremendous growth in the membership of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.

Concluding Speech

The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament exists, among other things, to help those who need a rule of life, and there are few of us who really can afford to dispense with a rule of life. The strength of the future lies in more frequent communions, in more regular and more thorough confession, and also in the use from time to time of those opportunities of listening to the voice of God afforded by a retreat. Dare I venture to say to priests of my own generation, and of the generation that is coming, that the value of the yearly retreat to the priest, for his own soul and for his ministry to his people, is beyond anything that words can express? And the same is true for the laymen. We talk about, and we apply words about, devotion to the Lord Jesus in the most Holy Sacrament at Mass, or at other times. How are we showing our devotion to the Lord Jesus as a pattern of conduct—our devotion to the Lord Jesus as the mainstay of life? How we all honour the name of Lord Halifax for what he has done for the Catholic Revival! We know that he is a man of singularly brilliant intellect, but it is not brilliant intellect that has helped him to make the contribution that he has made to the life of our Church; it is his real devotion to our Blessed Lord, and his personal holiness. And you may be quite sure that, just as legislation must always register the public opinion of its day, when the demand for the lifting of restrictions which may fence in our liberty of Adoration comes from 10,000 men who are monthly penitents and weekly communicants, there will be no force in the Church to withstand it.

And now I am going to ask you to rise and say with me the Divine Praises, after which I shall give you the Blessing, and I shall venture to use those same words which the Bishop of Zanzibar used on the last occasion in England, because I think he would wish me to do so, and I long to have the privilege.

Appendix

I

ADDRESS BY THE REVD. FATHER HUGHSON, O.H.C.

(At the Wednesday morning Meeting in the Albert Hall)



OR practically a thousand years after Christ no doubt of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar seems to have been entertained. This fact is the more significant because during that period almost every heresy which the perversity of man could conceive, or the ingenuity of the devil could invent, was set forth. Arius emasculated Christianity of its essential life by making the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity a creature. Nestorius and Eutyches nullified the Incarnation by their heresies.

Even the very existence of the Holy Ghost was impugned, and yet none of these heretics seems to have doubted that, when the tremendous action of the Eucharist was accomplished, the Incarnate Word was really and objectively present in the Sacrament.

But now for nine hundred years men have not ceased to contend over this great subject, and the fact that we are to-day asked to consider it shows how prominent the controversy is in men's minds. It is not my purpose, however, in this brief paper, to enter upon any philosophical or theological discussion of the dogma of the Real Presence. I purpose, in as simple language as I can command, to deal with certain aspects of this great truth in such a manner as will, I think, give it a deeper and more practical devotional value in our lives.

Let us, before attempting any definition of the Real Presence, give a few moments to the consideration of the objection often made that, since the Church has never in her great ecumenical councils given any such definition, we should not attempt to define anything as necessary to the faith concerning the fact of the Eucharistic Presence. Those who make this objection display their misunderstanding of the method the Catholic Church has always employed in her definitions of the faith. The original divine revelation of facts made by our Lord was sufficient until men

Appendix

arose who denied certain articles of the faith. Under these circumstances, and under these only, were the great definitions of the faith made. Now, as we have remarked, the Real Presence was never denied, even by heretics, until an age when the unhappy division of eastern and western Christendom made a General Council impossible. The early Church defined nothing about the Eucharist because no truth concerning the Eucharist was impugned. There was no serious Eucharistic heresy as such in the Church of the Fathers. Here and there some obscure person might have offered suggestions of false doctrine such as that which was referred to St. Cyril of Alexandria on one occasion by a certain correspondent. These innovations suggested that the divine Presence in the Sacrament was temporary, and that the Sacrament consecrated to-day would not be the Sacrament if kept till the morrow. St. Cyril's explosive manner of responding might not be regarded as kind or gracious in our day of softer controversial method, but it was effective. "They are mad!" he exclaimed of these objections. But these occasions of doubt were few and far between, and the doubters had no following.

Those who, because nothing was defined by a General Council, would insist that nothing was held in the early centuries concerning the Eucharist as necessary to the faith, to be logical should also hold that, until the Church bore her witness in the Council of Nicæa in 325, nothing was held as necessary to the faith concerning the Incarnation and the Person of Christ.

Let us understand clearly and permit no doubt in our minds that there is a Catholic belief concerning the Blessed Sacrament, which is a necessary part of the Christian Faith. One has only to glance at the New Testament to realize that no other conclusion can be called sane. Our Lord laid it down categorically and without any sort of qualification: "Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you." Following upon this declaration, the Church has ever held that the reception of the Blessed Sacrament is, along with Baptism, necessary to salvation. Now let us ask this question: Is it conceivable that our dear Lord would have promulgated in so solemn a manner a certain thing as necessary to the saving of our souls, and then have left us totally at sea as to what that thing was, and what we were to believe concerning it?

But there are those, and they are not a few, who talk to us about the distinctive teaching of the Anglican Church. Distinctive from what? From the rest of Catholic Christendom? They forget that the moment any part of the Catholic Church adopts a doctrine or a position regarding the necessary faith which is distinctive from the rest of the Church, in that moment it involves itself in false doctrine, if not in formal heresy. The Catholic seeks to align himself always with the Church throughout the world, never to be distinguished from it. What, then, is this revelation concerning the Real Presence, which we believe to be a necessary part of the Catholic Faith? It is simply that where a validly ordained priest of the Church consecrates bread and wine to be the Body and

Appendix

Blood of Christ, Incarnate God becomes really and objectively present in that Sacrament. Further, we believe that this Presence is effected at a given moment in time by the Holy Ghost through the consecration—that is, through the words and acts of the earthly priest. And this Presence is in no sense dependent upon the faith either of the priest officiating, or of the people participating. The priest may not himself believe in the Presence, but if he duly consecrates the bread and wine, according to the divine institution, Christ is present upon that consecration. It is analogous to Baptism. The officiating minister may deny that the child is regenerated in baptism, but this does not mean that the children he baptizes have to be baptized again in order to become regenerated. It were monstrous to think that an ignorant or wicked want of personal faith on the part of the minister could invalidate the work of the Holy Ghost, who is the real agent in all the Sacraments.

Most men, whether Catholic or Protestant, recognize that in some sense, however remote or indirect, there is a Presence in connection with the Eucharist. But by some strange mental perversion they quote as against the Church's Eucharistic faith her own words—that "the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner."

It may seem to some of you a little out of date to quote the Thirty-nine Articles. Some of them, these near four hundred years, have been indeed a burden grievous to be borne. But I am not one of those who think that, taken as a whole, they are the forty stripes save one, laid on the back of a long-suffering Church. Some of them, as they deal with the great fundamental verities of the Godhead, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, are magnificent expositions of the Nicene Faith.

Nor am I inclined to sweep away too indiscriminately their sacramental teaching, and so I should like to meet this objection based upon the Article, for I think that the Catholic Church is prepared to stand squarely on this statement. But she says this not because the term "heavenly and spiritual," describing the Eucharistic Presence, means something vague and unsubstantial. Not so is the word "spiritual" employed in the terminology of our holy religion. The expression is used to state the same objectivity and reality as that which our Lord meant when he said: "God is spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." If we mean the objectivity and reality of the Godhead when we say "God is spirit," then we mean the objectivity and reality of the divine Presence when we say that God Incarnate, both divine and human, is spiritually present in the Sacrament of the Altar. It were in a certain real sense an atheistic position to say that God is existent or non-existent, according to whether a man believes in him or desires him. Likewise, it is quite as impossible to say that our Lord's presence or non-presence in the Eucharist is dependent on my believing or not believing. Man cannot make and unmake God's existence or presence in any such fashion as this. It is an issue of fact: either he is present or he is not present; and what I believe has no effect upon that fact as such.

Appendix

Further, the Church says that he is present "after an heavenly and spiritual manner," because the most real, substantial, objective, and enduring things are not those which are material and earthly, but those which are "heavenly and spiritual." Again, in saying that Christ is present in the Blessed Sacrament "after a heavenly and spiritual manner," the Church means to emphasize that Christ is present, not as he was in the days of his earthly pilgrimage, not under the conditions in which he was compassed about with our infirmities, but as he is now, risen, ascended, glorified at the right hand of his Father in heaven.

This, indeed, must be true for the reason that our Lord has but one body. In different stages of his Incarnate Life that Body exists under different conditions. On earth it could grow weary, hungry, and thirsty. That Body, as St. Augustine says, when and how and as he willed it, could die. That Body suffered on the Cross, was dead and buried, but he rose again the third day in that same Body. He gave to it the supernatural quality of the resurrection Body, and bore it at his Ascension into Heaven, where he was glorified at his Father's right hand with the glory that was his before the world was. It is this glorified Body of Christ, which is present in the Sacrament. Therefore we say that he is present in the Eucharist "after an heavenly and spiritual manner." The objectivity and reality of that human Body of Christ, under other modes or conditions, is the same as the objectivity and reality of his Presence in the Blessed Sacrament. If this Incarnation was real, if his life of earthly ministry was real, if the glory of the ascended Lord is real, then is the Presence of our Blessed Christ in the Blessed Sacrament real. Whatever changes in growth and development that Body enjoyed in this world, whatever might be involved in the mystery of its glorification in heaven, this same Body, in which dwelt and dwells all the fulness of the Godhead, risen, ascended, glorified, is present in the most Holy Sacrament just as truly as he was present in the Virgin's womb, just as objectively and really as he was present in the manger at Bethlehem, in the carpenter's shop at Nazareth, along the Galilean highways, on the cross; precisely as really and objectively as he is present at his Father's right hand in heaven.

But men ask: "How does he come? In what manner is that glorified Body present?" I refer to this perennial question only to say that I have no intention of trying to give it an answer. It is right and necessary that there should be study and speculation concerning these subjects, but for us practical Christian folk, seeking to know the well-certified facts of our religion, and to govern our faith and consequent action according to those facts, it is wiser that we should take the simple truth as it has been revealed, without presuming to justify the ways of God to man. Nearly all the heresies of the ages have arisen out of the effort to explain God's plans and method, the effort to force the divine, infinite mysteries within the narrow, finite compass of human thought and language. It was the yet unconvinced Nicodemus who asked: "How can these things be?" It was the unbelieving Jews of Capernaum who demanded to know "how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" The

Appendix

humble Christian never inquires "How?" His one question is "What?"—not impertinently inquiring how God can do thus and thus, but ever seeking to know what it is that God in his tender love has revealed for us to believe and practise for his honour and for our souls' good. Without doubt, our Lord could have given a clear and convincing reply to the Jews of Capernaum, but their human and finite minds would not have understood. A mathematician might give to an intelligent three-year-old child a complete and lucid demonstration of some problem in higher mathematics, but the mind of the child would grasp nothing. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Well might we apply these words of the divine Master to ourselves in considering the Real Presence. It may be that the day will come when, no longer seeing in a glass darkly, we shall know how these things can be. But now in the days of our earthly pilgrimage, humbly acknowledging our limitations, we believe as little children, and, believing, we adore.

Through nine centuries, during which there has been rarely a generation of truce in the Eucharistic controversy, men have sought to fathom the mystery of the manner of the Presence. There are many suggested explanations. We hear of transvaluation; there is transenergization; our dear old Bishop Andrewes preferred transmutation. Then there is the doctrine of transubstantiation, but if a man ask that we accept it as a necessary part of our Eucharistic Creed, the reply might reasonably be made: "Define your terms; tell me what is meant by substance." And, when we come to the philosophers, to secure that definition, we find that, like their brethren on Mars Hill in St. Paul's time, some say one thing and some another; and some categorically deny the existence of any substance at all. I therefore think that plain men, unused to the jargon of the schools, should not be pressed too far if they hesitate to make this theory a definite part of their religion.

However, he would be rash indeed who rejected that which the Catholic Church, both East and West, has formally approved, and which no formulary of the Anglican Church has ever repudiated; for we must remember that our Article of Religion, so often ignorantly quoted, cannot be said to impugn the doctrine of transubstantiation held by the Eastern and the Latin Churches, for that Article was written before the Councils of Trent and Jerusalem reviewed that doctrine and gave it its present form.

But, argue this as you may, the fact of the Real Presence does not depend upon any theory. Amidst all contending opinions, amidst the subtlest distinctions of philosophers, one central truth stands in bold relief: in every Mass the Holy Ghost, who is the agent in the Sacrament, employs the consecration—that is, the divinely commanded words and acts of the priest—as an instrument whereby at an exact point of time he induces such definite change that "our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true Man, is truly, really, and substantially contained [we are not the least afraid of these Tridentine words] under the species of these sensible things." And if he is present at all he must be wholly present;

Appendix

Christ cannot be divided. Nothing that belongs to the God-Man can be absent. He is there, all that he is and all that he has. All that in time he took in the womb of Mary, all that for eternity has been his as the second person of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, is enthroned on the lowliest altar where lies this august Sacrament. Hidden beneath these lowly appearances of bread and wine is the Son of Mary; dwelling in this ineffable Mystery is the Lord Jehovah, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. That Humanity and that Deity at the moment of the Incarnation were united, never again to be separated, and it is this Second Person in the Godhead in his two natures, divine and human, who thus condescends to dwell amongst us that we might know and believe his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

What, then, does this tremendous mystery involve for us? Everything. In the moment in which the consecration of the bread and wine is accomplished, the Sacrifice of the Altar is effected. In the moment in which the sacrificial Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world becomes present on the altar, in that moment "the one, true, pure, immortal Sacrifice" of Calvary is offered. In that moment, what is being done by us at the earthly altar becomes identified, one and the same thing, with the ceaseless action in heaven, where our Lord is pleading perpetually his Sacrifice on Calvary for the honour of his Father and the needs of the world. The Eucharistic Sacrifice depends upon the Presence of him who is both Priest and Offering, for in this Sacrifice at the hands of the earthly priest "the God-priest offers to God the God-Victim." Therefore without the Eucharistic Presence there can be no Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Then we come to the consideration of our worship, and a simple consideration it is. Wherever God is, there he is to be adored. God dwells in the Blessed Sacrament, therefore in that Sacrament he is to be worshipped. And this worship is no modified thing, to be hedged about with cautions and inhibitions. Do we expect to fall down in utter adoration before the Eternal Trinity in heaven if by God's grace we come to that blessed place? Then let us learn now the worship of the heavenly courts, for the identical adoration which is given him in heaven by the saints and angels is to be given him wherever he dwells on his earthly altar. No essential difference can be made between God in the Eucharist and God who dwells high and uplifted on the throne of heaven.

We have thought of *what* it is the dear Lord has ordained and commanded; we have noted certain considerations of *how* these things might be. One more question remains: *Why?* Why are his delights with the sons of men whose sins and offences are so grievous and continual a wound to his Sacred Heart? Only one answer can be found. Because he loves us with an everlasting love. Only thus can we account for this amazing thing. And what is to be our response to this love? Let us so direct our words and actions that men may know not only of the joy and blessing his Presence is to his people, but also that they may know what is often forgotten and too rarely taught—namely, the

Appendix

ineffable privilege of giving joy to him who awaits our coming with a heart hungry for our love. Let us teach men these things by showing ourselves as foremost amongst those to whom his Presence is precious; and out of the dullest spirit will spring the finest flower of personal devotion, and a fire will be enkindled which will leap from heart to heart until the whole world be aflame with the warmth and glory of his love.

II

ADDRESS BY THE REVD. G. D. ROSENTHAL

(At the Wednesday evening Meeting in the Albert Hall)

The one aim which the Anglo-Catholic Congress Movement has kept steadily before it from the very first is the conversion of men and women to our Lord Jesus Christ. It is with that end in view that the present Congress is being held to proclaim the faith of the Church as touching the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, and to exhibit and increase our devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Mysteries. We believe that there is no other means for the conversion of men so divinely powerful as the Holy Mass, the centre of immutable truth, the living casket of that Blessed Mystery of Faith which is enshrined on our altars and is called Emmanuel. There is no surer instrument whereby they can be brought back to God in penitence and faith than the manifestation of the love of God in this incomparable Mystery. The Incarnation and the Cross saved the world of old; it is the Incarnation and the Cross extended, applied, proclaimed in the Blessed Eucharist, which will save England to-day.

To-night we meet for a Social, and it is therefore fitting that we should think of the social aspect of the Holy Sacrament. If in its Godward aspect it is a great act of sacrificial worship, in its manward aspect it is a great act of fellowship. Christ, in and through his Sacrament, is the bond of union to the whole Church, and as we gather round the altar and receive his Body and his Blood we are united to him, and through union with him we are united to one another. Viewed in this way, the Mass is a great Brotherhood Meeting, at which we enter into fellowship with the whole Church—Militant, Expectant, Triumphant. Grant Duff, in his "Notes from a Diary," tells the story of an old priest who was trudging home through pelting rain after early Mass on All Saints' Day, when he was met by a parishioner, who said: "How many did you have at Mass this morning, father?" "Millions, millions," was the reply. It was a true and an adroit answer, for whenever the Holy Sacrifice is offered there is always a great communion, though the visible worshippers are but a handful. Patriarchs and Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and all the Holy Souls who have departed this life in the faith and fear of Christ, all faithful

Appendix

Christians in every corner of the world—this is the real congregation in the Holy Communion, or Holy Fellowship, into which we, too, enter as we receive the Body and Blood of Christ. As John Keble beautifully sings :

“ No distance breaks the tie of blood,
Brothers are brothers evermore,
Nor Wrath nor wrong of deadliest mood
That magic may o’erpower.
Oft, ere the common source be known
The kindred drops will claim their own
And throbbing pulses silently
Move heart towards heart by sympathy.
So is it with true Christian hearts;
The mutual share in Jesus’ blood
An everlasting bond imparts
Of holiest brotherhood.”

There is no doubt that in the Church it was the social side of the Eucharist, in which noble and slave drank of the same Cup, that broke down distinctions of race and class, and brought about a realization of liberty, fraternity, and equality such as no other revolution has ever succeeded in producing. Is that what the Holy Communion means for us to-day? Does it strike the imagination as the speaking symbol of a fellowship that reconciles national and racial differences, and unites men into a great brotherhood through the common sharing of the life of Christ? Must we not confess to our shame that it is not so? We have largely lost hold of the social idea of the Mass; we are apt to think of the Blessed Sacrament in an individualistic way, as if it were simply the means of obtaining grace and help for our own spiritual needs; we talk commonly of going to receive *my* Communion, instead of *our* Communion, our fellowship, not only with Christ, but with each other. As a result the Church is conspicuously failing in its greatest task—that of presenting to the world the inspiring spectacle of an all-embracing Brotherhood. It is not only that the fellowship between the various parts of the Church is broken; the evil goes far deeper than that. Even in an ordinary Catholic congregation there is, as a rule, little sense among the worshippers that they all belong to one another, because through the Holy Communion they are all united in Christ. We allow people to claim our acquaintance on the ground that they were at the same school or college; that is everywhere regarded as a bond of union. So, too, among Freemasons there is a very real bond of fraternity which makes them feel that they are brothers whenever and wherever they meet. But about our religion we seem to be incurably individualistic. We go to church with our particular friends, and sit in our particular place, being very much annoyed if anyone else has got there first. We say our own prayers and pay our own respects to God. But we do not feel concerned with the people in the next pew, unless they sing out of tune, when we brace ourselves to the extreme measure of turning round to stare at

Appendix

them. And this at the great service which is intended to bind us all together in living, loving fellowship!

I am persuaded that one of our chief needs to-day is to restore and emphasize this social idea of the Eucharist, which has for so long been overlaid, neglected and forgotten. Without Christ's Life given to us in the Blessed Sacrament we are like so many individual atoms, crowded together like grains on a sand-heap, particle clinging to particle, and so forming a show of solidarity, but having no vital connection the one with the other. But when we kneel around the altar and share together his Body and his Blood, we become like iron filings gathered round a magnet, where each holds fast to all the rest by the pervading power of the magnetic influence that fills them all.

Let us, then, go forth from this inspiring Congress filled with a new spirit of fellowship in Christ, and resolved to present our religion to the world as the visible embodiment of ideal human brotherhood. The first step to that end is that we ourselves should receive the Blessed Sacrament regularly and frequently. Though the Catholic Revival has resulted in a wonderful increase of Communion, there is much leeway to make up, and we are still far below the standard in this respect which obtains in the rest of the Western Church. Secondly, we must do everything we possibly can to foster the wider conception of churchmanship which the Congress Movement has already done so much to develop. Our fellowship is still being gravely hindered by petty congregationalism—an idea that if Catholic privileges are provided for us in the church we attend, all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. Congregationalism is only one step in advance of individualism; it gives a man a narrow outlook and cramps his activities; it makes him think that Christian fellowship is only to be found in a narrow coterie of like-minded people. And, let me add, Anglo-Catholicism itself is a snare and a delusion if we conceive of it as a special revelation given to the Anglo-Saxon race. The fellowship in which God has called us is no less than the One Holy Catholic Church dispersed throughout the world. It may be necessary under present conditions to call ourselves Anglo-Catholics; I think it is. But I am sure we shall be wise to write the "Anglo-" very small and the "Catholic" as large as possible. Lastly, while standing firm as a rock in defence of that blessed Faith of which we are at once the inheritors and the trustees, let us try to live in charity, sympathy, and good humour with those who do not agree with us. I am perfectly certain that I am expressing the feeling of this Congress when I say that our message to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth is a message of good will. We do not seek to denounce, to condemn, to exclude, but to convince, to persuade, to attract. Behind all our controversies we feel the divine bond of brotherhood which makes us all members of one another. In the spirit of him whom we receive at the altar, we long for fellowship, and are resolved to work and to pray for it. That points the true road to the conversion of England. Far more than that, it is a step on the road to the reunion of the whole

Appendix

Catholic Church of Christ, and to that of which the reunited Church will itself be but a sacrament and a prophecy—the solidarity of the human race, the universal fellowship of the human spirit, which will one day mark the climax of the unfolding drama of God's purpose for the world, when reality shall at last touch hands with the poet's ideal :

“ And the stranger hath seen in the stranger his brother at last
And his sister in eyes that are strange.”

When, in the name and power of Jesus, the great walls on the common of life that now separate man from his brother will all come tumbling down.

III

ADDRESS BY SIR HENRY SLESSER, K.C., M.P.

(At the Wednesday evening Meeting in the Albert Hall)

During this week those of you who have attended this Congress know that a most exhaustive reverent study has been given to the great mystery of the Blessed Sacrament. To-night, I understand, we are to be rather more general in dealing with our subject. But sometimes the unlearned (in which category I include yourselves and myself) as distinguished from our expert theological advisers, see certain aspects of daily life which, perhaps, do not impress themselves quite so closely on those who concentrate more critically upon the problems of our faith. I feel very strongly that we are suffering at the present time from a breakdown of any standard by which we can conduct our lives; we have lost the great gift of certainty. People to-day find it difficult to say what is right or what is wrong. They cannot tell you which pictures are beautiful and which are ugly. They cannot tell you what is wisdom or what is mere cleverness. In other words, as it seems to me, and as it must seem to you, our moral and æsthetic standards are in anarchy. And it is our belief that this confusion is due to decay of faith. Indeed, I will go so far as to say that, given the unbelief which has been growing with increased momentum during the last four centuries, the results we see around us to-day were inevitable. In one sense, indeed, people still retain a feeling of certainty. A man said to me the other day: “There is one thing certain, anyhow: that there will not be a total eclipse for ninety years.” But of course all these things—when an eclipse is coming, whether you are going to catch the next bus, whether our friends are going to get home to-night—all these things are not really certainties at all, not in the ultimate sense of the word. By “certainty” I mean something much more essential. The great philosopher Plato pointed out, many years ago, that there are only three certainties of which we have assurance in this world—goodness, beauty, and truth. These are the eternal realities of life which the Catholic Faith can

Appendix

restore to us. We must learn not to be ashamed of being dogmatic; an open mind is like Pandora's box, from which all the gifts had flown away. Again, we must assert the realities, for we have an assurance of what those realities are. We have to attack many false assumptions which are commonplaces to-day—that conduct is a mere matter of temperament or climate; that what is right in one place is wrong in another; that artistic sense is a matter of taste, or even that truth is a mere matter of opinion. We have to fight this whole disease of pragmatism and relativity. One of the fathers here, a few days ago, said: "The great difference between us and the modern pagan world is that they say that man is the measure of all things, and we say that God is the measure of all things." Once we have regained our feeling of need for a definite standard of right or wrong, surely we shall persuade the world to find that standard in the life of our Lord. To a people so instructed we need not be at pains to argue against usury, divorce, or social or national hatreds. We can say that these things are, by our religion, specifically forbidden, and therefore, standing, as we do, on a firm credal basis in a world where most people are equivocating and doubtful, we shall have a power and strength quite out of proportion to our numbers, in that we have conviction and they have not.

We find the world in hopeless conflict, bewilderment, and confusion; I cannot think of any fundamental idea which is not challenged, criticized and belittled in some quarter or another. Therefore we, whose faith stands on a rock, must go forward undeviatingly in definite assurance and knowledge. That assurance which we have and others have not is the gift of faith; it is given to us by the Holy Spirit. The important thing to realize is this—that our certainty comes to us because we believe that the Kingdom of God can be found in the things of this world. That is the great work which the Catholic Faith does in the Blessed Sacrament; it mediates between the perfect Godhead and the world, and brings down into the world the Eternal Perfection of heaven. That, as I understand it, in my untrained, lay, untheological mind, is implicit in the meaning of the Blessed Sacrament. It canalizes perfection and exhibits it in one relative. As the artist seeks to produce the eternal in the beauty of his pictures, the saint in his conduct seeks to emulate eternal righteousness, and the sage seeks, in his wisdom, to realize eternal truth, so the Catholic Faith throughout the ages has mediated between eternity and the relative—it is our task to bring into this world this vision of eternity—to promote on earth. That is what makes the Catholic Faith, not only so certain, but so practical.

The responsibility which attaches to this great mission is, in every sense of the word, Catholic; in so far as the whole of the activities of man are to be mediated from eternity, there is no human activity which the Catholic can safely ignore. What makes the mediæval great age of faith—the eleventh and twelfth centuries—so profoundly interesting and instructive to us is not so much its practice, because men were sinners then as always, but the attempt to carry the eternal verities, through the medium of the Church, into the world.

Appendix

We must be fearless; in the last resort we have to declare that the Church is more important than the State. I would not be misunderstood. I believe that the State, like the family, is a normal human institution; that the proper secular authority proceeding on Christian assumptions is to be obeyed; the view that the State has no place in Christian life is absurd and wrong. We have to fight that notion which has grown up since the Reformation—that the State, or Parliament, or the lawyers, or the Civil Servants, or any secular institution, is the final test of authority and reality in this world. When the Church was dethroned at the Reformation, the King was substituted; when the King was dethroned in the person of Charles I., Parliament was substituted; later the Executive Government was substituted for Parliament—as we who tramp through the lobbies to-day well know! What particular secular power will be substituted next I do not know. I have heard it said that the Civil Servants in Whitehall will govern us, but I am inclined to think that we shall ultimately be governed by financiers and doctors, for if we are not careful we shall all be compulsorily subjected to monetary or surgical operations. It is all wrong. The State is important only in so far as it is a State to promote the Kingdom of God on earth. As Aristotle said, “The State exists that men may lead a good life,” it is not an ultimate reality. But what distinguishes Catholics from others, and makes them unpopular, is that they alone believe the Church to be a divine institution. If there is one thing of which I am certain it is this—that the Church is not only divine, but inherently perfect, although Churchmen are very often imperfect. If one is to believe in the Sacraments, it is necessary to believe that the Bride of Christ is a perfect institution. It is an institution to mediate between us and eternity. Man is thus provided in this world with all the guidance which he may reasonably need; the reason why these great mediations have proved so uncertain in the past is because he will not accept from God the great benefits and bounty which God has conferred upon him. Let us set out with this assurance: neither relativity nor pragmatism will in the end satisfy us. We must cling to the Church and its authority, and in that we shall find our safety.

“““

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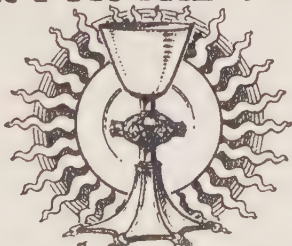
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